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LITERATURE ON CHURCH HISTORY

IN GERMANY, AUSTRIA, SWITZERLAND, HOLLAND, AND THE
SCANDINAVIAN COUNTRIES, 1914-1920

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I. EARLY CHURCH HISTORY

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ABBREVIATIONS

AA	Alttestamentliche Abhandlungen.
AAB	Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin.
AGPh	Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie.
AGW	Abhandlungen der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen.
AMM	Abhandlungen aus Missionskunde und Missionsgeschichte.
BFTh	Beiträge zur Förderung der christlichen Theologie.
BGPhM	Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters.
BGThPrPred	Beiträge zur Geschichte, Theorie und Praxis der Predigt.
BKV	Bibliothek der Kirchenväter.
BphW	Berliner philologische Wochenschrift.
CSEL	Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum.
DTh	Divus Thomas. Jahrbuch für Philosophie und spekulative Theologie. Seit 1914.
FDG	Forschungen zur christlichen Literatur- und Dogmengeschichte.
FRLANT	Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments.
FrThSt	Freiburger Theologische Studien.
GChrSchr	Die Griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller.
HJG	Historisches Jahrbuch der Görres-Gesellschaft.
HPBl	Historisch-politische Blätter.
HZ	Historische Zeitschrift.
KÅ	Kyrkohistorisk Årsskrift.
Kath	Der Katholik.
KIT	Kleine Texte, hrsg. von H. Lietzmann.
LF	Liturgiegeschichtliche Forschungen.
LQ	Liturgiegeschichtliche Quellen.
LZBl	Literarisches Zentralblatt.
NA	Neutestamentliche Abhandlungen.
NADG	Neues Archiv für die ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde.
NAKG	Nederlandsch Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis.
NGW	Nachrichten der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen.
NJkIA	Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum.
NkZ	Neue kirchliche Zeitschrift.
NThT	Nieuw Theologisch Tijdschrift.
OChr	Oriens Christianus.
RhM	Rheinisches Museum.
RQ	Römische Quartalschrift.
SAB	Sitzungsberichte der Akademie zu Berlin.
SAH	Sitzungsberichte der Akademie zu Heidelberg.
SAW	Sitzungsberichte der Akademie zu Wien.
SchrGesStr	Schriften der wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft zu Strassburg.
StGKA	Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Altertums.
StMB	Studien und Mitteilungen aus dem Benediktinerorden.
StML	Stimmen aus Maria Laach. Seit 1915 durch StZ ersetzt.

StZ	Stimmen der Zeit.
ThGl	Theologie und Glaube.
ThLBl	Theologisches Literaturblatt.
ThLZ	Theologische Literaturzeitung.
ThQ	Theologische Quartalschrift.
ThR	Theologische Rundschau.
ThRev	Theological Revue.
ThSt	Theologische Studien.
ThStKr	Theologische Studien und Kritiken.
TU	Texte und Untersuchungen.
VKSM	Veröffentlichungen aus dem kirchenhistorischen Seminar München.
VRSG	Veröffentlichungen der Sektion für Rechts- und Sozialwissenschaft der Görres-Gesellschaft.
WSt	Wiener Studien.
ZKG	Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte.
ZkTh	Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie.
ZMW	Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft.
ZNW	Zeitschrift für neutestamentliche Wissenschaft.
ZwTh	Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie (1914 eingegangen).

IN the preparation of the following survey two methods were possible. I might select for fuller notice certain of the most important productions and by means of them illustrate the progress in this branch of historical science during the period of the war, or I might endeavor to give as complete an account of the literature as possible, including notices of less significant but nevertheless useful publications. I decided upon the second course, partly because the mass of production seemed to me too large and varied to be satisfactorily exhibited by the more or less arbitrary selection of a few works, partly because it often happens that a seemingly unimportant note may be of worth to some scholar who happens to be pursuing research in that particular field—something which in the many years during which I edited the *Theologische Jahresbericht* I have often found true in my own experience and that of others. Unfortunately the *Jahresbericht*, which seemed to us indispensable, as well as the *Theologische Rundschau*, edited by Bousset, whose untimely death we mourn, have both succumbed to the unfavorable conditions of the times. All the more necessary does it seem to create at least a partial substitute for them, and I embraced the opportunity offered me by the editors of this

Review the more gladly because in my own country it will for the present be quite impossible to publish such a survey.¹

Manifestly in such an undertaking exhaustive completeness is not to be achieved or even aimed at. Having regard to the readers of this Review, it is clear that, of writings on the history of the church in individual countries, only those should find a place in our survey which may claim a general interest; to say nothing of the fact that it is beyond the power of a single reviewer, even with the friendly assistance of others, to record, much less to read, everything. But here again a distinction is necessary. The history of the ancient church is a peculiarly international field, and accordingly it is desirable here to include as far as possible everything which by its scientific character is adapted to advance learning, even if only in a single minor point. To achieve a certain degree of completeness for this period was in itself an attractive task, and one which I took upon me the more gladly because in fulfilling it I should be acquitting myself of a debt of honor. In the field of early church history German scholarship has from the beginning taken the lead. That it is not disposed to relinquish this leadership was proved during the war, and is still being shown in the distressful years that have followed. It was not without a feeling of pride that I took up the January number of this Review bearing witness to this, as it does, by the prominent place occupied in it by German scholarship; and I cannot think without bitterness of the political servitude and the internal derangement of my own country which, unless conditions soon change for the better, must lead to the decline of this prestige also.

In regard to the limits of the period covered by this survey, I would remark that the history of primitive Christianity does not fall within its scope. This subject can be advantageously treated only in connection with the literature on the New Testament, which Professor Windisch, of Leiden, has undertaken. Gnosticism also belongs in his field. The external ar-

¹ For a comprehensive survey of important publications on Antenicene church history, see Hans von Soden, *Die Erforschung der vornicänischen Kirchengeschichte seit 1914*, in ZKG 39, 1921, 140-166.

angement of the *Jahresbericht*, which experience has proved practical, has been retained, with such changes as the contracted space dictate. The abbreviations in the bibliography are those employed in the *Jahresbericht* with the addition of a few new ones. As readers cannot be expected to understand these symbols without explanation, an alphabetical list of those which occur in this first article is prefixed. All these periodicals, reports of the sessions of Academies, and similar publications, are having a hard struggle for existence, and many of the symbols in our list will shortly disappear.

Of the literature which has appeared in the German language I have seen almost everything, for which I am in part indebted to the kind coöperation of the publishers. The prices noted are the original ones; beyond which considerable excess charges must be reckoned with. In ordering a book it would be advisable to refer to my report, or to use my services by ordering the book through me. Of the literature in other languages only the smallest part has come under my eyes. I am the more grateful for the generous assistance of scholars who in response to my request have aided me by furnishing notices of such publications — Professor Karl Völker, of Vienna, for Austria; Professor O. Ammundsen, of Copenhagen, and Professor Sigmund Mowinkel, of Christiania, for Denmark and Norway; the Rev. Bakhuizen van den Brink, Theol. Doct., of Nieuw Dortrecht, for Holland; Professor Hjalmar Holmqvist, of Lund, for Sweden. The names of these scholars are attached to the notes contributed by them.

I. GENERAL CHURCH HISTORY

Aulén, Gösta, Dogmhistoria. 362 pp. Stockholm, Norsted, 1917. kr. 12.
— *Bess, Bernhard*, Unsere religiösen Erzieher. 2. Aufl. 2 Bände. xi, 335; iii, 344 pp. Mit Bildnissen. Leipzig, Quelle und Meyer, 1917. Geb. M. 14.
— *Bonwetsch, G. Nathanael*, Grundriss der Dogmengeschichte. 2. Aufl. iv, 219 pp. Gütersloh, Bertelsmann, 1919. M. 12; geb. M. 14. — *Brandrud, A.*, Den kristne kirkes historie. 410 pp. Kristiania, Aschehoug, 1915. — *Ehrengabe* deutscher Wissenschaft, dargeboten von katholischen Gelehrten, dem Prinzen *Johann Georg von Sachsen* zum 50. Geburtstag gewidmet. xx, 858 pp., mit 34 Bildern und 7 Tafeln. Freiburg, Herder, 1920. Geb. M. 250. — *Ehrhard, Albert*, Die Stellung der Slawen in der Geschichte des Christentums. 46 pp. Strassburg, Heitz, 1918. — *Festgabe, Alois Knöpfler*

zur Vollendung des 70. Lebensjahres gewidmet. viii, 415 pp. Freiburg, Herder, 1917. M. 30. — *Festschrift*, Theologische, für *G. Nathanael Bonwetsch* zu seinem 70. Geburtstag. iii, 147 pp. Leipzig, Deichert, 1918. M. 5. — *Harnack, Adolf von*, Dogmengeschichte. (Grundriss der theologischen Wissenschaften 4). 5. Aufl. xii, 472 pp. Tübingen, Mohr, 1914. M. 7; geb. M. 8. — *Hergenröther, Josef*, Handbuch der allgemeinen Kirchengeschichte. (Theologische Bibliothek). Neu bearbeitet von *Johann Peter Kirsch*. 5. Aufl. 3. und 4. Band. xiv, 864 pp. mit einer Karte; x, 798 pp. Freiburg, Herder, 1915 und 1917. M. 13, 60 und M. 14; geb. M. 15, 40 und M. 16. — *Heussi, Karl*, Kompendium der Kirchengeschichte. 4. Aufl. xv, 637 pp. Tübingen, Mohr, 1919. M. 12; geb. M. 15. — *Heussi, Karl*, und *Hermann Mulert*, Atlas zur Kirchengeschichte. 66 Karten auf 12 Blättern. 2. Aufl. 18 pp. Text. Tübingen, Mohr, 1919. kart. M. 7. — *Knöpfler, Alois*, Lehrbuch der Kirchengeschichte. 6. Aufl. xxv, 862 pp. mit einer Karte. Freiburg, Herder, 1920. M. 30; geb. M. 36. — *Lübeck, Konrad*, Georgien und die katholische Kirche (AMM 6). 119 pp. Aachen, Xaverius-Verlag, 1918. M. 8, 50. — *Müller, Karl*, Kirchengeschichte. (Grundriss der theologischen Wissenschaften 4, 2). 2. Band. 2. Hälfte. xxiii, 788 pp. Tübingen, Mohr, 1919. M. 18; geb. M. 21. — *Pijper, F.*, Handboek tot de Geschiedenis der Christelijke Kunst. Mit 125 afbeeldingen. 191 pp. 's Gravenhage, Nijhoff, 1918. fl. 7; geb. fl. 8, 50. — *Schubert, Hans von*, Grundzüge der Kirchengeschichte. 6. Aufl. xi, 344 pp. Tübingen, Mohr, 1919. M. 6, 75; geb. M. 9. — *Seeberg, Reinhold*, Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte. (Sammlung theologischer Lehrbücher). 2. und 3. durchweg neu ausgearbeitete Auflage. 4. Band in 2 Abteilungen. xii, xvi, 896 pp. Leipzig, Deichert, 1917 und 1920. M. 10, 50 und M. 54. — *Studien*, geschichtliche, *Albert Hauck* zum 70. Geburtstag dargebracht. xii, 352 pp. Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1916. M. 13, 50; geb. M. 15.

No new treatise covering the whole of church history has appeared within our period. The books whose titles are given above are for the most part good old acquaintances, and the circle of their readers will doubtless be enlarged through the new editions, which have in all cases been supplemented and brought up to the present stage of knowledge. *Müller* has continued his admirable work, which has been widely praised without as well as within the lands of German speech as a landmark in ecclesiastical historiography, from the Reformation to the end of the seventeenth century. At this point, unfortunately, he proposes to lay down his pen, so that a critical account of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries — a thing that does not exist in any language — is likely long to remain a desideratum. The latest volume, like its predecessors, is distinguished by thoroughness of investigation and independence of judgment. Especially noteworthy is the skill with which the

author has apprehended and presented the connections, including those that belong to the general history of civilization. Besides this there are many new observations in particulars. Thus, to take a single example, Müller is the first adequately to appreciate the great importance for Holland, England, and Germany of Jacobus Acontius, a notable champion of religious toleration whose very name has hitherto not found a place in our church histories.² Protestantism and Catholicism are treated by Müller with equal thoroughness, and within the sphere of Protestantism he has given the same attention to the non-German churches as to the German. I cannot doubt that the sections on England and Scotland will be found instructive by English and American theologians and historians also.

Seeberg's work is bibliographically described as the second edition of the *Lehrbuch* issued in two volumes in 1895 and 1898. In reality it is an entirely new work, of which the first three volumes appeared in 1908-1913, and with the fourth volume noted above is now complete. The first part of this volume treats of the formation of Protestant doctrine, with a specially detailed estimate of Luther's teachings; the second part, of the further development of the doctrines of the Reformation and of the Counter-Reformation. For Catholicism he takes the Vatican Council (1870) as the terminus, for Lutheranism the Formula of Concord (1580), for Calvinism the Synod of Dordrecht (1619). The lines of development which connect this history with the present the author has traced in an instructive and readable concluding chapter on the several confessional types as the ultimate outcome of the evolution of dogma. Seeberg's work has an importance of its own by the side of Harnack's great *History of Dogma*, since for the recent period Harnack gives no more than a sketch. Seeberg has endeavored throughout to give due importance to the connection between the development of religious ideas and the general history of thought. The reader who is acquainted with

² On Acontius see now Gaston Sortais, S. J., *La philosophie moderne depuis Bacon jusqu'à Leibniz*. Tome I. Paris, 1920, pp. 41-53. See also Adolf Matthaei, *Jacob Acontius, mit besonderer Berücksichtigung seiner Gedanken über Toleranz*, NKZ 30, 1919, 290-308.

Troeltsch's 'Soziallehren der Christlichen Kirchen' (Tübingen, Mohr, 1912) — a brilliant work, but often provoking contradiction — will follow with special interest Seeberg's acute and well-considered discussion. It is gratifying also to find that this Lutheran scholar has so fine a sense for the distinctive features of the Calvinistic type of doctrine, which expresses itself in well-considered judgments. Seeberg could not make up his mind to assign to modern Protestantism a place in the history of dogma as a distinct type of religious life. At this point workers in the field will have to address themselves to the problem with greater energy than heretofore. — The History of Dogma by *Aulén* is praised by Professor Holmqvist as a remarkably clear outline. — Professor Ammundsen describes *Brandrud's* short general sketch as interestingly written, without bibliographical references, but with good illustrations.

Pijper's volume, according to information furnished by Dr. Bakhuizen van den Brink, deals with the whole development of Christian art, paying special attention to ancient art. The reader is made acquainted with the scientific investigation of the catacombs, and the well-known thesis of Strzygowski, 'Orient or Rome,' is discussed, the author endeavoring to steer a middle course. The merits of the book lie on the one hand in the clear, concise, and progressive presentation, on the other in the selection of material with an eye particularly to Dutch readers, and therefore giving especial though not one-sided attention to Dutch art.

Pursuant to a graceful custom, which has been kept up even in our present trying situation, when a noted scholar has completed an epoch in his life, grateful pupils, colleagues, and friends have in several cases contributed to a volume of scientific papers in his honor. Such collections are recorded above in the bibliography. So far as these essays are of general interest for church history they will be specially noted below in their proper place. For more detailed information about the contents the following notices may be consulted: for Bonwetsch, *Schuster*, ThLZ 44 (1919), 49; for Hauck, *Köhler*, ThLZ 41 (1916), 247; for Knöpfler, *Seppelt*, ThRev 17 (1918), 447.

II. THE ANCIENT CHURCH

1. GENERAL

Arnold, Carl Franklin, Die Geschichte der alten Kirche bis auf Karl den Grossen im Zusammenhang mit den Weltbegebenheiten kurz dargestellt. (Evangelisch-theologische Bibliothek, hrsgg. von Bernhard Bess). xvi, 284 pp. Leipzig, Quelle und Meyer, 1919. M. 7; geb. M. 8. — *Harnack, Adolf von*, Aus der Friedens- und Kriegsarbeit. viii, 373 pp. Giessen, Töpelmann, 1916. M. 8; geb. M. 10. — *Heckel, Andreas*, Die Kirche von Aegypten. Ihre Anfänge, ihre Organisation und ihre Entwicklung bis zur Zeit des Nicaenums. (Diss.) vii, 85 pp. Strassburg, Heitz, 1918. M. 2. — *Schrijnen, Josef*, Uit het leven der oude kerk. vii, 300 pp. Bussum, Brand; Utrecht, Dekker en van der Vogt, 1919. fl. 7; geb. fl. 8, 50. — *Seeck, Otto*, Regesten der Kaiser und Päpste für die Jahre 311 bis 476 n. Chr. 2 Halbbände. 200 und xi, 487 pp. Stuttgart, Metzler, 1918 und 1919. M. 100; geb. M. 140 (no excess charge); Geschichte des Untergangs der antiken Welt. 6. Band. 380 pp. Ebda., 1920. M. 32; geb. M. 42. — *Soden, Hans Freiherr von*, Die Entstehung der christlichen Kirche. Vom Urchristentum zum Katholizismus. 2 Bände. (Aus Natur und Geisteswelt. Nr. 690 und 691). 138 und 130 pp. Leipzig, Teubner, 1919. Je M. 2, 80; geb. M. 3, 50. — *Troeltsch, Ernst*, Die alte Kirche. (Logos 6, 1916-17, 265-314).

‘A study in the philosophy of civilization,’ is the characterization *Troeltsch* gives of his article on the nature and significance of the ancient church. The fundamental idea is that Christianity as a supernatural institute of salvation found its classical form in the ancient, that is to say, the catholic church. The church is the last great creation of the ancient world, and as such the source of power for the beginning of a new civilization, the mother’s womb from which the Occidental world was born. It is therefore a great and weighty question how this church arose out of the whole situation of the ancient world, and wherein its significance in particulars consists. The church itself, under the influence of its belief in its immediate divine origin, has, consciously or unconsciously, refused to recognize the traces of its own origin, effaced them, or even destroyed them. *Troeltsch* traces the lines of development which are nevertheless recognizable in two directions. One points back to Hebraism, and makes the church appear as the conquering power of the prophets and of the gospel. The other leads to Hellenism, and shows us in the church the means by which the ancient world in a time of grave distress and in a complete intellectual overturning brought to fulfilment the most char-

acteristic tendencies of its life, and found the satisfaction of its needs. How this came about in particular cases, Troeltsch has developed in a stimulating way. He thus sums up the conclusions: 'Die Bedeutung der alten Kirche liegt in der Zusammenschweissung der christlich-religiösen Ideenwelt der Schöpfung, der Freiheit, der Gnade, der Wesensumkehr, der Gottes- und Bruderliebe, mit der antiken, wesentlich von den Hellenen geprägten Kultur der allgemeinbegrifflichen gesetzlichen Wissenschaft der rationalen Staats-, Gesellschafts- und Rechtsgestaltung, der humanitären Vernunftethik, der ästhetischen Immanenz der Form in Stoffe.' These are fundamental contrasts; yet, as Troeltsch believes, they have since become so closely bound together that they can not be separated from each other. No one who wishes to go to the bottom of these questions should neglect this study, which, it must be confessed, makes great demands upon the reader. An English translation would be all the more desirable since the essay appeared as an article in a periodical, and can not be obtained separately through the booksellers. (Compare also the note on Troeltsch's 'Augustin,' below, p. 327.) An article on 'de dogmenhistorische theorieën van Ernst Troeltsch' was published by J. Lindebloom in *ThT* 53 (1919), 181-223.

Arnold's book is intended primarily for students; but even professional scholars will be surprised to find how much valuable information has been compacted in small space yet in readable form by a skilful use of small print. The author has not only the advantage of his many years' experience as a teacher of church history (he is professor in Breslau), but possesses a happy gift of portraying the spirit of an age by means of skilfully selected details. The book has thus a personal note which distinguishes it from other manuals. — *Von Soden's* little volumes are made up of lectures which the author (now professor in Breslau) delivered as chaplain in war-university courses on the western front. His aim was to make one of the most important epochs in intellectual and political history intelligible to educated readers with no special knowledge of the subject. It is not an ordinary case of popularization, however; a high scientific level is maintained throughout, and the

many extracts from the sources interspersed through the volume add to its value. — It is to be regretted that conditions have permitted the printing of only the first chapter of *Heckel's* work. In it the author, bringing to the task an excellent methodical training, examines the lists of Alexandrian bishops, which he finds to be untrustworthy, and the tradition that Mark the Evangelist was the founder of the Alexandrian Church, which he rejects as legendary. To this he subjoins some observations on the planting and spread of Christianity in Alexandria and Egypt. — *Iselin's* work is commended by H. Jordan ThLBl 39 (1918), 431 as a careful critical summary of results hitherto attained.

Seeck's 'Regesten' is one of those books which every one concerned with investigations in that field must find completely indispensable. The work is intended as a supplement to Mommsen's famous edition of the Codex Theodosianus, and at the same time as a preliminary study for a Prosopographia of the period of the Christian empire which was among the projects of the Berlin Academy. The framework is furnished by those laws in the Theodosian Code (completed in 438) the dates of which can be determined. Seeck did not, however, confine himself by this limit, but brought his work down to 476. For this continuation the imperial laws offer no material for the western half of the empire and very little for the eastern. Consequently it was necessary to have recourse to the chronicles and the letters of the popes, which had already been employed in criticism of the data of the Theodosianus and as supplementary to it. In this way the Regesta eventually grew into chronological tables, from which, however, everything is excluded that can be dated only in a given year, but not to the month or at least the season.

After a long interval — the fifth volume appeared in 1913 — Seeck has brought to completion his 'Geschichte des Untergangs der antiken Welt.' The concluding volume deals with the period from the death of Alaric to the end of the Western Roman Empire (476.)* The ecclesiastico-political movements

* More recently the notes to vol. 6 have appeared (1921), as pp. 385-504 of that volume. They contain the references to the sources and some chronological discussions. The author died June 29, 1921.

of the time receive ample attention. The author's extreme subjectivity, which characterizes the whole work, appears again in full force in this volume. The plainest proof of this is given by the chapter on Augustine. To use a familiar German expression for which we have no equally drastic English equivalent, Seeck "lässt an Augustin kein gutes Haar." To read him one would think that in Augustine one had to do not with a genius but with an intellectually and morally inferior individual. "He never had a single new idea of his own, except that of investing his autobiography with the form of a confession — an idea of extremely dubious value." "His City of God is as untrue and full of mental reservations as his Confessions." "The question may well be raised how a book so shallow and of so little originality (viz. *De Civitate Dei*!) could exert so profound an influence on the whole of the Middle Ages, and even to a later time." Such quotations might be multiplied. Fortunately not all parts of the work are so saturated with antipathy; and, at any rate, the gifted author everywhere captivates us by his original way of viewing the subject. Even by his unjust judgment upon Augustine the reader may review his own. We must remind ourselves that it is the same Seeck who wrote the 'Regesten,' noticed above, and therein gave conclusive proof that he has in the most thorough-going way made his own the materials contained in the sources. Since Gibbon's immortal work, it would be hard to name another which brings before us in such enthralling presentment persons and conditions in the decadent empire. (In ordering the volume it must be noted that the publisher, who for the earlier volumes was Siemenroth in Berlin, has been changed.)

In the collection of *Harnack's* addresses and essays the following studies bearing on the history of the ancient church are reprinted: pp. 21-44, *Die älteste Kircheninschrift u. die älteste Kirchenbibliothekinschrift*; pp. 45-65, *Griechische und christliche Frömmigkeit am Ende des 3. Jahrhunderts* (*Hibbert Journal* 1911); 67-99, *Die Höhepunkte in Augustins Konfessionen* (*Die Christliche Welt* 1912, 1913); 101-140, *Der Geist der morgenländischen Kirche im Unterschied von der abend-*

ländischen (SAB 1913); 141-161, Die Askese (*infra*, p. 367); 163-172, Bericht über die Ausgabe der Griechischen Kirchenväter der drei ersten Jahrhunderte (SAB 1916). — *Schrijnen's* volume also is a collection of studies on life in early Christian society, in which a Catholic apologetic tendency is combined with a serious scientific aim. A few papers by other authors are included. The subjects treated are: The Cult of the Saints; The Tombs of Peter and Paul in Rome; Sunday in the Early Church; The Virgins' Wreath; Women and Propaganda; Cremation or Burial; The Civilizing Work of the Early Christians and the Edict of Milan; The Form of Christian Communities in Roman Law (W. Pompe); Antimilitarism and the Duties of the Citizen; Ecclesiastical Latin; Commodian (H. B. Vroom; *vide infra* Commodian); Slavery; Clement of Alexandria and Trade (O. van der Hagen; inadequate); Apologetics; Church Penance (*infra*, p. 364); The 'Salvatore Olandese.' This last essay has for its subject a fresco of Christ discovered in 1912 by two Hollanders in the crypt of St. Cecilia in Rome. The author dates it about the end of the fifth or the beginning of the sixth century; Christ is still represented without a halo. A good reproduction adorns the book. [Bakhuizen van den Brink.]

2. CHRISTIANITY AND PAGANISM

a. General Relations

Birt, Theodor, Charakterbilder Spätroms und die Entstehung des modernen Europa. vi, 492 pp. mit 6 Bildern. Leipzig, Quelle und Meyer, 1919. Geb. M. 16. — *Geffcken, Johannes*, Der Ausgang des griechisch-römischen Heidentums. (Religionswissenschaftliche Bibliothek, hrsg. von Wilhelm Streitberg 6). viii, 347 pp. Heidelberg, Winter, 1920. M. 20; geb. M. 25; Stimmungen im untergehenden Altertum (NJKlA 28, 1920, 256-269); Kaiser Julianus. (Das Erbe der Alten, hrsg. von Otto Crusius u. A. 8). x, 174 pp. Leipzig, Dieterich, 1914. M. 4; geb. M. 5. — *Harnack, Adolf von*, Porphyrius "Gegen die Christen," 15 Bücher. Zeugnisse, Fragmente und Referate. (AAB 1916, 1). 115 p. 4°. Berlin, Reimer, 1916. M. 5, 50. — *Hartman, J. J.*, Honderd jaar geestelijk leven in den Romeinischen keizertijd. 555 pp. Leiden, van Doesburgh, 1918. fl. 17, 50. — *Kurfess, A.*, Platos Timaeus in Kaiser Konstantins Rede an die heilige Versammlung (ZNW 19, 1920, 72-81). — Lucianus, de dood van Peregrinus, van inleiding en aantekeningen voorzien door *D. Plooijen J. C. Koopman*. (Aetatis imperatoriae scriptores graeci et romani adnotationibus instructi curantibus

P. J. Enk en D. Plooi). 114 pp. Utrecht, Ruys, 1915. fl. 2. — *Meyer, Eduard*, Apollonios von Tyana und die Biographie des Philostratos (*Hermes* 52, 1917, 371-424). — *Plooi, D.*, De schoolstrijd onder Keizer Julianus. (*Stemmen des tijds* 4, 1914-15, 162-180). — *Schepeleern, V.*, Montanismen og de phrygiske kulter. 212 pp. Kopenhagen, Pio, 1920.

The end of Greek and Roman paganism is a subject which has at all times particularly attracted historians of civilization and of the church, but it had not been comprehensively treated since the much-used books of Victor Schultze and Gaston Boissier. *Geffcken*, professor of classical philology in Rostock, has attacked the subject in a new way. It is his aim to seize upon the chief traits of the history of religions in the Roman empire from the second century of our era. He accordingly shows what cults are concerned, when and through what influence they declined and disappeared, the attitude of the several emperors toward the religions of their time, the significance of philosophy, and the reflex influence of the conflict upon belles lettres, in order in the end to throw light upon the outcome of these centuries of religious agitation, namely the gradual accommodation between pagans and Christians. All this is based on an amazing wealth of material gathered from literary sources, inscriptions, papyri, and coins, and worked up by the hand of a master. The inscriptions, in particular, have never before been used in such completeness. Besides all this, *Geffcken* has given his work a well-rounded, artistically satisfying form, both in his reproduction of the general milieu and in remarkably successful portraits of leading figures, such for instance, as those of the Neoplatonists Plotinus, Porphyry, Iamblichus, Proclus, and Synesius, and of the emperor Julian. To the last he has devoted a separate monograph, and in spite of all the Neoplatonic rubbish that surrounds that remarkable figure, esteems him as a genuinely religious nature. Indeed it is a great merit in *Geffcken* that he everywhere shows true comprehension for religious feeling and experience. Thus his book is of importance alike for theologians, philologists, historians, and philosophers; educated laymen also will derive great profit from it.—The 'Charakterköpfe,' also, by *Birt*, the Marburg philologist, is a brilliant — perhaps rather too brilliant.

— book, and the pictures which he draws of the emperors after Septimius Severus, including their relations to Christianity, and the sharply defined characterization of men like Ambrose, Jerome, and Augustine, make charming reading. — *Hartman*, professor in Leiden, calls his book a *causerie*; it is, however, the fruit of scientific investigations. He treats of the nature of heathenism, of sophists and philosophers, of Lucian, Dio Chrysostom, and Seneca; and, in a special division of the work, of the correspondence between Pliny and Trajan about the Christians, which he shows to be genuine. A translation of the whole correspondence is appended. [Bakhuizen van den Brink.]

In the first part of the collection entitled 'Aetatis imperatoriae scriptores graeci et romani,' *Plooij* and *Koopman* have edited Lucian's 'De morte Peregrini.' As the basis of his text Koopman, after a critical examination, took the edition of Levi (Berlin 1892). The ample commentary is instructive and valuable. The introduction by Plooij offers a clear view of the religious conditions of Lucian's environment, particularly of the cynics, at whom the story of the death of Peregrinus was aimed. The facts from the life of Peregrinus which Lucian relates are regarded by Plooij as trustworthy; Lucian's exaggerations are pointed out. The relations that have been thought to exist between the treatise and the letters of Ignatius are considered by Plooij of small consequence. [Bakhuizen van den Brink.] — In an excellent study, the Berlin historian *Meyer* has shown that for the purposes of his philosophical romance Philostratus completely transformed the portrait that tradition gave of the wonder-worker Apollonius.

Since Lardner in his 'Credibility of the Gospel History' (1727–1757) brought together the fragments of Porphyry's book against the Christians, much has been written about the work, and many attempts have been made to reconstruct it; but no critical edition has been produced. *Harnack* has now collected all the material, which has been considerably enlarged since Lardner's time, and rearranged it. He has included also the extracts from a writing by an unknown author preserved in Macarius Magnes, believing that the results of his earlier investigations (TU 37, 4, 1911) warrant him in reclaiming them

for Porphyry. — *Kurfess* defends the genuineness of the 'Oratio ad sanctorum coetum,' attributed to the emperor Constantine, and decides for a Latin original. The objection that Plato's *Timaeus* is used in the speech, he thinks may be met by supposing that the emperor read Plato's work in Cicero's translation. To the reviewer this does not seem very plausible. — *Plooij* treats the conflict about schools under Julian as the first historical emergence of the fundamental question whether instruction without relation to religion is possible. [Bakhuizen van den Brink.] — *Schepelern* arrives at the conclusion that although Montanism was originally a Christian phenomenon, it later became an orgiastic religion resembling the Phrygian cults, which are described at large. [Professor Ammundsen.]

b. *The Emperors and Christianity*

Bihlmeyer, Karl, Die "syrischen" Kaiser zu Rom und das Christentum. vii, 166 pp. Rottenburg, Baader, 1916. M. 3; Das angebliche Toleranzedikt Konstantins von 312 (ThQ 96, 1914, 65-100, 198-224). — *Eberlein, Helmut*, Kaiser Mark Aurel und die Christen. (Diss.) 54 pp. Breslau, Genossenschaftsdruckerei, 1914. — *Faulhaber, Ludwig*, Die Libelli in der Christenverfolgung des Kaisers Decius (ZkTh 43, 1919, 439-468, 617-656). — *Linderholm, Emanuel*, Om den kristna statskyrkans uppkomst. 135 pp. Uppsala, Almqvist och Wicksell, 1914. — *Linsenmayer, Anton*, Eine christliche Kaiserin in der vorkonstantinischen Zeit (HPBl 164, 1919, 721-729). — *Schroers, Heinrich*, Die Bekehrung Konstantins des Grossen in der Ueberlieferung (ZkTh 40, 1916, 238-257); Zur Kreuzerscheinung Konstantins des Grossen (ebda. 485-523). — *Sild, Olaf*, Das altchristliche Martyrium in Berücksichtigung der rechtlichen Grundlage der Christenverfolgung. 184 pp. Dorpat, Bergmann; Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1920. M. 35.

In view of the many investigations that, since the appearance of Mommsen's famous 'Religionsfrelve nach römischem Recht' (1890), have been devoted to the problem of the legal grounds of the persecution of Christians, a new one may seem almost superfluous. The reviewer would find it difficult, moreover, to attempt to state in a few words, precisely wherein the new element in *Sild's* investigation lies. He must be content therefore to say that scholars will find in the book an independent discussion of the sources and literature, and one which prompts to reflection, although its effect is unfortunately impaired by a clumsy treatment. What the author says about

the difference in legal doctrine and practice between the East and the West in regard to the persecution and condemnation of Christians deserves attention, though it will hardly bear the test of closer examination. Sild draws too large conclusions from the fact that the cult of the emperors had not as much importance in the West as in the East. — The church historian *Bihlmeyer*, of Tübingen, has addressed himself with great thoroughness to the critical problems presented by the literary tradition about the so-called Syrian emperors, Caracalla, Elagabalus, and Severus Alexander. Bihlmeyer's contribution to the criticism of the 'Scriptores Historiae Augustae,' particularly of Lampridius's Vita of Severus Alexander is worthy of notice. The statements of Lampridius about the religious attitude of the emperor which have so often been utilized will hereafter have to be employed with greater caution. In the articles in the *Quartalschrift* named above Bihlmeyer rightly denies that any special imperial edict in favor of the Christians is to be interposed between the Edict of Galerius in 311 and the Constitution of Milan in 313. — *Eberlein* gives, among other things, a well-considered criticism of the legend of the miraculous downpour of rain (Thundering Legion). Unfortunately his work is printed only in part. — *Faulhaber* comes to the conclusion that the Egyptian Libelli should be regarded as certificates that the holder had offered sacrifice, issued, not to Christians who had not really done so, but to pagans and to so-called Sacrificati. This, he thinks, is proved by the edict of Decius ordering sacrifice universally, and by the contents of the Libelli, especially that of Aurelia Ammonus, priestess of Petesuchos. Only in this way can it be explained that the issuing of Libelli for the whole empire was directed from one central office. — The empress whom *Linsenmayer* claims as a Christian because she is represented on bronze coins as 'Augusta in Pace' is the wife of Gallienus, Cornelia Salonina. — *Linderholm*, professor in Upsala, gives a good survey of the development of the relations between church and state down to 380. [Professor Holmqvist.]

c. *Martyrology and Hagiography*

THE MEANING OF "MARTYR." *Corssen, Peter*, Begriff und Wesen des Märtyrers in der alten Kirche. (NJkIA 34, 1915, 481-501); *Μάρτυς* und *Ψευδομάρτυς*. (ebd. 35, 1916, 424-426); Ueber Bildung und Bedeutung der Komposition *Ψευδοπροφήτης, ψευδομάντις, ψευδομάρτυρ*. (Sokrates 6, 1918, 106-114). — *Doergens, Heinrich*, Zur Geschichte des Begriffs "Martyr." (Kath. 98, 1, 1918, 205-208). — *Holl, Karl*, Die Vorstellung vom Märtyrer und die Märtyrerakte in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung. (NJkIA 33, 1914, 521-556); Der ursprüngliche Sinn des Namens Märtyrer. (ebd. 35, 1916, 253-259); *Ψευδομάρτυς*. (Hermes 52, 1917, 301-307). — *Krüger, Gustav*, Zur Frage nach der Entstehung des Märtyrertitels (ZNW 17, 1916, 264-269). — *Reitzenstein, Richard*, Bemerkungen zur Martyrienliteratur. i. Die Bezeichnung Märtyrer. (NGW 1916, 417-467). — *Schlatter, Adolf*, Der Märtyrer in den Anfängen der Kirche. (BFTb 19, 3). 86 p. Gütersloh, Bertelsmann, 1915. M. 3, 50. — *Strathmann, Hermann*, Der Märtyrer. (ThLBl 37, 1916, 337-343. 353-357).

ACTS AND LEGENDS OF MARTYRS. *Allgeier, Artur*, Untersuchungen zur syrischen Ueberlieferung der Siebenschläferlegende (OChr 4, 1914, 279-297; 5, 1915, 10-59; 263-270); Die älteste Gestalt der Siebenschläferlegende herausgegeben und übersetzt (ebd. 6, 1916, 1-43; 7, 1918, 33-87). — *Anrich, Gustav*, Hagios Nikolaos. Der heilige Nikolaos in der griechischen Kirche. Texte und Untersuchungen. 2 Bände. xvi, 464 und xii, 592 pp. Leipzig, Teubner 1913 und 1917. M. 18 und M. 24. — *Bruck, W.*, Das Martyrium der heiligen Apollonia und seine Darstellung in der bildenden Kunst. xi, 152 pp. Mit 100 Abbildungen. Berlin, Meuser, 1915. M. 12. — *Corssen, Peter*, Das Martyrium des Bischofs Cyprian (ZNW 15, 1914, 221-233, 285-316; 16, 1915, 54-92, 198-230; 17, 1916, 189-206; 18, 1917/18, 118-139, 202-223); Der Schauplatz der Passion des römischen Bischofs Sixtus II (ebd. 16, 1915, 147-166). — *Gerhardt, Rudolf*, Ueber die Akten des hl. Anthimus und des hl. Sebastianus. (Diss.) 50 pp. Jena, Frommann, 1916. — *Grohmann, Adolf*, Studien zu den Cyprianusgebeten (WZKM 30, 1917, 121-150). — *Kirsch, Johann Peter*, Die Passio der heiligen "Vier Gekrönten" in Rom (HJG 38, 1917, 72-97); Die Märtyrer der Katakombe "ad duos lauros." (Ehrengabe für Johann Georg von Sachsen [vide supra, p. 287] 577-602). — *Miedema, R.*, Menas en Men (ThT 48, 1914, 390-404); De wonderverhalen van den heiligen Menas (NAKG 14, 1918, 210-245). — *Niedermeyer, Hans*, Ueber antike Protokoll-Literatur. (Diss.) 91 pp. Göttingen, Dieterich, 1918. — *Reitzenstein, Richard*, Bemerkungen zur Martyrienliteratur. ii. Nachträge zu den Akten Cyprians (NGW 1919, 177-219); Cyprian der Magier (ebd. 1917, 38-79). — *Reuning, Wilhelm*, Zur Erklärung des Polykarp-Martyriums. (Diss. Giessen.) ix, 49 pp. Darmstadt, Winter, 1917. M. 1, 60. — *Srapian, Moses*, Das Martyrium des heiligen Pionius aus dem Altarmenischen uebersetzt (WZKM 28, 1914, 376-405). — *Waal, Anton de, Sant' Eutichio Martire* (RQ 29, 1915, 271-275).

THE MEANING OF "MARTYR." A vigorous and instructive debate has been evoked by *Holl's* study of the idea of a martyr and of the Acts of the Martyrs in their historical development.

In 2 Cor. 15, 14, Holl finds warrant for maintaining that even in the primitive Christian communities the apostles were given the title *μάρτυρες τοῦ θεοῦ* because they were regarded as witnesses of the resurrection of Christ. This title was transferred to those who witnessed in their blood, because they too were deemed to be witnesses of the resurrection. For according to the conviction of the early Christians, to one who thus bore testimony by his death, it was granted, in the decisive hour, to behold with the eyes of the spirit the world above and the Lord whom he confessed. Here the connection with the late Jewish conception of the necessary death of the prophet, who was looked upon as *μάρτυς τοῦ θεοῦ*, is unmistakable (on this point see also *Schlatter*). Thus the Spiritism of the primitive age of Christianity was kept peculiarly alive in the conception of martyrs; and herein the conditions were given for the representation of the conflict of the martyrs in a special form of literature, the Acts of the Martyrs. Holl traces the development of this kind of literature in its two types, narration in a letter (Martyrdom of Polycarp, the Martyrs of Lyons, etc.), and the records of trials (Acta Justini, Acta Scilitanorum, etc.), as they were influenced by Jewish prototypes (2 Maccabees), and by Hellenistic models. Convincing as his treatment of the Acts of the Martyrs is, the attempt to explain the origin of the title martyr has not commanded corresponding assent. *Reitzenstein*, in particular, has pointed out that it is not the confession alone that makes the martyr, but above all the joyful endurance of the suffering (the *ἐργῶ μαρτυρεῖν*), and that the conception of martyrdom is thus intimately connected with Hellenistic ideas of the *ἀσκητής*, *ἀθλήτης*, *ἀγωνιστής*, *στρατιώτης*. This connection does not, however, sufficiently explain the Christian use of the title, in which the testimony rendered in blood is the essential factor. For this the idea that the martyrs are *μαθηταὶ καὶ μιμηταὶ τοῦ κυρίου* is decisive. Our best source of information on these points is the Martyrdom of Polycarp, the inestimable value of which as a classical document has again been made most evident by this new discussion. (See also p. 369 f. *Reitzenstein*.) The attention of scholars should be earnestly directed to the whole controversy.

ACTS AND LEGENDS. *Niedermeyer* shows the relations between the Acts of Christian martyrs and the pagan judicial Acta. He finds that for the evaluation of an account a definite date is of decisive importance. Acts that bear no date, or only a general indication of time, were composed independently of the protocols and the official records, and therefore fall into the category of stories with a purpose. Among the most important of the martyr stories from the point of view of the history of literature are the letters from the Church in Smyrna about the death of Polycarp, and the different versions of the Martyrdom of Cyprian, which are ultimately derived from a judicial document. The former has been subjected by *Reuning* to a fresh investigation, in which he has laid special emphasis on a comprehensive interpretation of Polycarp's prayer. *Reitzenstein* had already put the accounts of the death of Cyprian in a new light in 1913 by a very important paper in the *SAH*. He has continued his work and made a complete investigation of the different versions of the Martyrdom in the mediaeval Passionals and in the manuscripts of Cyprian, to the list of which he was able to add. Contrary to Pío Franchi de' Cavalieri (*Studi Romani, Rivista di archeologia e storia* 2 (1914), 189), he believes that the version found in the manuscripts can be proved to be the original. The articles by *Corssen*, which include in their purview not only the Acts of Cyprian but also the Life of Cyprian by Pontius, would be more effective if they were less diffuse and circumstantial. (See also below, p. 332, 'Cyprian.') — It is known that in the legend the bishop of Carthage is confused with another Cyprian, the scene of whose martyrdom is laid in Antioch. The legend of this other Cyprian has been newly examined by *Reitzenstein*, and its antecedents clearly traced through successive stages back to the classical form given it by the empress Eudokia about 450. Beside the legend, prayers by this Cyprian have been handed down, the original Greek text of which was first published by Scherman in *OChr* 1903. *Grohmann* now publishes a German translation of them from the Ethiopic.

Allgeier, on the basis of a minute investigation of the tradition, shows that the oldest form of the Syriac version of the

legend about the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus is preserved in the Cod. Sachau 321 and Cod. Par. 235. This version he publishes, with a German translation. — The Acts of Anthimus and of Sebastian are the production of an unknown writer of legends of the fifth century, whose narrative bears the marks of free invention, but is nevertheless instructive from the point of view of the history of civilization. *Gerhard* has treated these Acts comprehensively. — *Kirsch* thinks that the solution of the much discussed problem of the Quatuor Coronati is to be found in the following way: 1. The four saints buried on the Via Labicana are not Pannonian, but Roman martyrs. 2. These alone constitute the group which was venerated under the designation Quatuor Coronati. 3. The author of the legend, without any historical warrant, shifted the scene of their martyrdom to Pannonia, and endeavors in his last chapter to explain how they came to be venerated at Rome. 4. Thus the Pannonian martyrs also are legendary. — *Srapian* has published from the Cod. Mechitar. 224, anno 1428, an Armenian text of the Acts of Pionius (Greek in von Gebhardt, *Märtyrerakten*, 2d ed., p. 56) with a German translation. At this point attention may be called to the fact that Karl Schmidt in his edition of what he calls the *Epistula Apostolorum* (see the article by Professor Lake in the *Harvard Theological Review*, January, 1921, p. 15 ff.) has again emphatically controverted the theory of Corssen and Schwartz that the martyr Pionius was the author of the *Life of Polycarp*. He sees in that *Life* the work of a Syrian author of the second half of the fourth century. — Saint Eutychius, on whom *de Waal* writes, seems not to have suffered martyrdom under Diocletian, as has been generally supposed, but under Decius.

The most conspicuous achievement in the field of hagiography that we have to record is beyond doubt the work of *Anrich* (at the time of his writing professor in Strassburg; now teaching in Bonn). The first volume contains the *Vitae*, *Encomia*, and *Thaumata*, the literary precipitate of the legends of Nicolaus, edited on the basis of a very extensive manuscript apparatus. The second volume, besides the prolegomena to these texts, contains wide-ranging and profound investigations

concerning the two heroes of the legend, the Archimandrite Nicolaus of Sion and the Bishop Nicolaus of Myra, whose two figures are so strangely intertwined. A chapter is added on the geography and topography of Lycia. Of the rich contents of these researches a brief notice like this can give no adequate idea, but any scholar who works through these two volumes thoroughly will be well rewarded for his pains, for they touch upon subjects of the most varied interest — the history of tradition and of language, archaeology and folk-lore, the history of literature and of civilization. Anrich writes in a captivating style, disposing his matter admirably, and masters the details so that even the most ungrateful material becomes attractive in his hands. — Continuing his work on St. Menas, begun in his Leiden dissertation on Menas (Rotterdam 1913), *Miedema* discusses the connection between the Menas cult in Egypt and the worship of Men in Phrygia. He agrees with Delehaye in believing that the Menas cult originated in Egypt, whence it soon found its way into Phrygia. The legend then transformed the originally Egyptian saint into a native Phrygian one. In *Miedema's* opinion a relation between the names of the two saints is possible, but not between their respective characters and history. To illustrate the character of the Menas legend *Miedema* has edited ten miracle stories from the Codd. Vatic. gr. 866 and 797. The legends bear distinctively Egyptian earmarks. Like Horus, Menas appears as the avenger of wrong, and on horseback. [Bakhuizen van den Brink.]

d. *The Spread of Christianity*

Allgeier, Artur, Untersuchungen zur ältesten Kirchengeschichte in Persien (Kath. 98, 2, 1918, 224–241, 289–300). — *Aufhauser, Johann Baptist*, Armeniens Missionierung bis zur Gründung der armenischen Nationalkirche (ZMW 8, 1918, 73–87). — *Harnack, Adolf von*, Die Mission und Ausbreitung des Christentums in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten. 3. Aufl. 2 Bände. xvi, 483 und 387 pp. Mit elf Karten. Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1915. M. 15; geb. M. 21. — *Lübeck, Konrad*, Die altpersische Missionskirche (AMM 15). 131 pp. und 1 Karte. Aachen, Xaveriusverlag, 1919. M. 8, 50. — *Sachau, Eduard*, Die Chronik von Arbela (AAB 1915, 6). 94 pp. Berlin, Reimer, 1915. M. 4; Vom Christentum in der Persis (SAB 1916, xxxix, 958–980). Ebd. 1916. M. 1; Zur Ausbreitung des Christentums in Asien (AAB 1919, 1). 80 pp. Ebd. 1919. M. 6.

Harnack has dedicated the third edition of his famous book to Thomas Cuming Hall, 'investigator and teacher, the energetic and faithful friend of Germany.' The new edition is a considerable enlargement upon the second, so that even those who possess the latter should find the new edition indispensable. — The works of *Sachau* and *Allgeier* have substantially enriched our knowledge of the spread of the earliest Christianity in Asia. The chronicle of Arbela in Adiabene (Assyria) has proved in this respect a valuable source, since for the earliest period the Greek and Latin writers fail us. The traditions which connect the mission with the names Bartholemew and Thomas have gained in importance. It may with much confidence be assumed that the mission in Persis was already in existence in the first century. *Sachau's* latest work is occupied with the expansion of the Nestorian Church, and gives valuable information about the several dioceses and their bishoprics. — *Lübeck* has given a readable sketch of the development of Christianity in the region under the Catholicos of Seleucia-Ctesiphon down to the time when the countries comprised in it were conquered by the Arabs.

3. LIFE, WRITINGS, AND DOCTRINE OF THE FATHERS

a. Editions, in Alphabetical Order

AMBROSIIUS. Sancti Ambrosii Opera. Pars vi: Explanatio Psalmorum XII. Rec. *M. Petschenig* (CSEL 64). v, 474 pp. Wien, Tempsky; Leipzig, Freytag, 1920. M. 70. APOLOGISTS. *Goodspeed, Edgar J.*, Die aeltesten Apologeten. xi, 380 pp. Göttingen, Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1915. M. 7, 40. — *Krüger, Gustav*, Die Apologien Justins des Märtyrers. 4. Aufl. (SQ 1). xii, 91 pp. Tübingen, Mohr 1914. M. 1,25; geb. M. 1,75. ATHANASIUS. *Fromen, Heinz*, Athanasii historia acephala. (Diss. Jena.) 86 pp. Münster i. W., Bredt, 1914. AUGUSTINUS. Sancti Aureli Augustini Tractatus sive Sermones inediti ex Codice Guelferbyitano 4096. Detexit adiectisque commentariis criticis primus edidit *Germanus Morin*, O. S. B. Accedunt SS Optati Milevitani, Quodvultdei Carthaginensis Episcoporum aliorumque ex Augustini schola Tractatus novem. xxxiii, 250 pp. Kempten und München, Kösel, 1917. M. 15; geb. M. 21. DIDYMUS OF ALEXANDRIA. *Zoepfl, Friedrich*, Didymi Alexandrini in epistulas canonicas brevis enarratio. (Neutestamentliche Abhandlungen, hrsg. von M. Meinertz 4, 1). viii, 48* und 148 pp. Münster i. W., Aschendorff, 1914. M. 5, 70. EPIPHANIUS OF SALAMIS. Epiphanius, hrsg. von *Karl Holl*. 1. Band. Ancoratus und Panarion Haereses 1-33. (GChrSchr 25). x, 464 pp. Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1915. M. 18; geb. M. 20, 50. GELASIUS OF CYZIKUS. G. 's Kirchengeschichte,

hrsg. von *Gerhard Loeschke*(†) durch *Margarete Heinemann*. (GChr Schr 28). xl, 263 pp. Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1918. M. 13, 50; geb. M. 18, 50. HIERONYMUS. Sancti Eusebii Hieronymi Epistulae. Pars iii: Epp. cxxi-cliv. Rec. *Isidorus Hilberg*. (CSEL 56). viii, 368 pp. Wien, Tempsky, und Leipzig, Freytag, 1918. M. 24. HILARIUS OF POITIERS. S. Hilarii Episcopi Pictaviensis Opera. Pars iv: Tractatus Mysteriorum. Collectanea Antiariana Parisina (Fragmenta historica) cum appendice (Liber I ad Constantium). Liber ad Constantium imperatorem (Liber II ad Constantium). Hymni. Fragmenta minora. Spuria. Rec. *Alfredus Feder S. J.* (CSEL 65). lxxxviii, 324 pp. Wien, Tempsky, und Leipzig, Freytag, 1916. M. 16, 80. HIPPOLYTUS. Hippolytus Werke. 3. Band. Refutatio omnium haereseum. Hrsg. von *Paul Wendland*. (GChrSchr. 26). xxiv, 337 pp. Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1916. M. 16; geb. M. 19. IRENAEUS. S. Irenaei Episcopi Lugdunensis Demonstratio Apostolicae Praedicationis (Εἰς ἐπίδειξιν τοῦ ἀποστολικοῦ κηρύγματος). Ex armeno vertit, prolegomenis illustravit, notis locupletavit *Simon Weber*. viii, 124 pp. Freiburg, Herder, 1917. M. 3. METHODIUS OF OLYMPUS. Methodius. Hrsg. von *G. Nathanael Bonwetsch*. (GChrSchr 27). xlii, 578 pp. Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1917. M. 27; geb. M. 20. ORIGENES. Origenes Werke. 6. Band. Homilien zum Hexateuch in Rufins Uebersetzung. Hrsg. von *W. A. Baehrens*. Erster Teil. Die Homilien zu Genesis, Exodus und Leviticus. (GChrSchr. 29). xxxvii, 507 pp. Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1920. M. 31, 25; geb. M. 47, 25. Dazu vgl. *Baehrens, W. A.*, Ueberlieferung und Textgeschichte der lateinisch erhaltenen Origenes-Homilien zum Alten Testament. (TU 42, 1). viii, 257 pp. Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1916. M. 9, 50. PSEUDO-CYPRIAN. See Tertullian. TERTULLIAN. *Rauschen, Gerhard*, Florilegium patristicum 10: Tertulliani de paenitentia et de pudicitia recensio nova. iv, 104 pp. Bonn, Hanstein, 1915. M. 2. — Ibid. 11: Tertulliani de baptismo et Ps.-Cypriani de rebaptismate recensio nova. iv, 77 pp. Ebenda 1916. M. 12; Emendationes et adnotationes ad Tertulliani apologeticum. 58 pp. Ebenda 1919. M. 1, 20. VICTORINUS OF PETTAU. Victorini Episcopi Petavionensis Opera ex recensione *Johannis Haussleiter*. (CSEL 49). lxxiv, 194 pp. Wien, Tempsky, und Leipzig, Freytag, 1916. M. 15.

The large number of exemplary editions of the works of the Church Fathers which have appeared during and since the war is surely one of the best proofs of the eagerness and the success with which work has been carried on in Germany in these sorry times. In particular, the two collections which we are accustomed to call the Vienna Corpus (CSEL) and the Berlin Corpus (GChrSchr) have been enlarged by a number of valuable volumes, and still others are in prospect. We shall take up the new editions severally in alphabetical order. Of *Petschenig's* edition of AMBROSE's Explanation of the Psalms the second volume has appeared. This contains the Enarrationes in duodecim psalmos Davidicos (Psalms 1, 35-40, 43, 45,

47, 48, 61), which were composed at different times. The not very numerous extant manuscripts fall into two classes, whose archetypes must have been written in the early Middle Ages. The codices of the first class (Paris 1733, Ambros. (without numeral), Trecensis 933), from the eleventh and twelfth centuries, have the greater value; nevertheless the leading manuscripts of the second class (Paris 1739, 14465, 16398) from the twelfth century are not to be neglected. Codex Parisinus 1733 must be regarded as the true basis for the text.

The lack of a handy complete edition of the Greek APOLOGISTS of the second century has long been felt, and this has now been supplied by *Goodspeed*. Theophilus of Antioch alone is not included, an omission which is explicable in view of the great length of his Apology, but is nevertheless to be regretted. The Syriac Aristides is presented in Latin translation; the Greek fragments are introduced essentially in the form in which the text was given by Geffcken (*Zwei griechische Apologeten*, Leipzig 1907). For Justin the Codex Parisinus was freshly collated, and the text of the manuscript is followed substantially throughout, with rather excessive conservatism. In the case of Tatian, too, a more conservative attitude toward the manuscript tradition is maintained than was held by Schwartz in his edition (TU 4, 1888). For Athenagoras a photograph of the Arethas manuscript was employed for comparison with the editions of Schwartz (TU 4, 1891) and Geffcken (see above). The brief introductions to the several authors are written in German. That Goodspeed's edition does not satisfy all requirements may be seen, for example, from *Geffcken's* review of it in *ThLZ* 40 (1915), 368.

Fromen has brought out a critical edition with historical explanations of the 'Historia Acephala,' which is an important source for the history of ATHANASIUS. As the time of its composition he leaves the years from 373 to 380 open, whereas hitherto a date between 385-402 had been accepted. — A very welcome discovery has been made by the indefatigable *Morin*. In a Wolfenbüttel manuscript which must have been written in the ninth century in northern Germany, he discovered ninety-five (ninety-six) sermons, of which seventy-two can with

certainly be ascribed to AUGUSTINE, including thirty-three which were previously wholly or in part unknown. Morin has published these thirty-three, and in an appendix nine other sermons, one of which he attributes to Optatus of Mileve, and four to Quodvultdeus of Carthage, to whom Augustine addressed his treatise 'De haeresibus.' The authors of the four others he is unable to determine. The gem of the collection is sermon 32, 'de ordinatione episcopi,' an extensive discourse which Augustine must have delivered soon after the *Collatio cum Donatistis* (411). The edition has been prepared with that circumspection and painstaking care which were to be expected of Morin. The external form of the volume may fairly be called magnificent, worthy of the great subject, and a treasure for book-lovers. A full descriptive account of the several pieces in the collection is given by *Carl Weyman*, HJG 39 (1919), 117. The Greek text of the commentary on the Catholic Epistles by DIDYMUS THE BLIND is lost, but for insignificant fragments. The Latin translation made by Epiphanius Scholasticus, the friend of Cassiodorus, has to serve instead of the original. Of this translation *Zöpfl* has furnished a critical edition, taking as a basis, in addition to the manuscripts (Codd. Laonensis, Berolinensis, Vaticanus), the editio princeps of 1531, which rests on a manuscript basis of its own.

A critical edition of the writings of EPIPHANIUS of Salamis has long been felt to be one of the pressing needs of learned studies in this field, since neither Dindorf nor Oehler based his text on adequate material, or was able to form any clear idea of the manuscript tradition. This lack has now been supplied by *Holl*. As far back as 1910, in a monograph in TU 36, 2, he had laid the foundations for a text which should satisfy all demands, and such a text he has given us in this edition. Unfortunately, though some of the manuscripts are old (Cod. Vatic. goes back without intermediary to a complete edition of the works current in the ninth century), the tradition is poor and the editor is constrained at every turn to resort to conjectural emendation. In this procedure, *Holl* has shown the skill of a master, and has presented us a text that is not arbitrarily made to conform to preconceived notions, but rests on sober

and trustworthy considerations. A special merit of this edition is the apparatus, which gives not only references to all Biblical passages and parallels in other authors — of itself an extremely laborious undertaking — but also abundant references to the modern literature and many observations of the editor's own. The whole work has deservedly been called a philological masterpiece of the first order. — A substantial addition to the tools of our learned craft is an edition of GELASIUS's Church History, prepared by the church historian *Loeschke*, who unfortunately died prematurely before the war. We had previously no complete edition of this history, but had to depend for books 1 and 2 on Balforeus's edition of 1599 and reprints of it, and for book 3 on Ceriani's edition of 1861. The chief manuscripts have proved to be Codd. Ambros. 534, Vatic. 1142, and Hierosol. 111. None of these manuscripts is free from errors, and it was the task of the editor to construct by means of internal criticism a text which should correspond as closely as possible to the original text of Gelasius. In this, by general consent, *Loeschke* was most successful, and, unless new material should come to light, his edition may be considered definitive.

Of *Hilberg's* edition of the Letters of HIERONYMUS the third and last volume of the text has appeared. The Prolegomena and the Indices are still lacking; the manuscript of these, according to the editor, has been handed in to the Academy, but has not yet been printed. — *Feder* had already done preliminary work for his edition of the minor writings of Hilarius in his 'Studien zu Hilarius von Poitiers,' which appeared in 1910-12 in SAW, and for the Prolegomena he could refer to this work. The chief interest of scholars has always centred upon the polemic-historical writings, and above all upon the so-called 'Fragmenta Historica.' These *Feder* proposes to designate as 'Collectanea (not collectio) antiariana Parisina,' in view of the contents and tradition an appropriate title. Happily he has resisted the temptation to arrange the fragments according to his personal surmises. If *Feder* is right, Hilarius wrote in 356, before he went into exile, a work probably bearing the title 'Opus historicum adversus Valentem et Ursacium.'

To this the first two fragments belong, and probably the third also, as well as the 'Liber I ad Constantium.' After Seleucia and Rimini, probably in December 359, he wrote in Constantinople a book with the same title, and as 'Liber II ad Constantium,' to which fragments 4-10 may be ascribed. The remaining fragments may belong to a Liber III, which appeared shortly before the death of Hilarius (367), or shortly after. The excerpts from the work which led to the present collection were made before 400. In the new edition of the 'Tractatus Mysteriorum' many errors of the first editor, Gamurrini (1887), were to be corrected as a result of a fresh examination of the Codex Aretinus. Besides the undoubtedly genuine hymns, those that are doubtful, or are certainly not genuine, are also printed. Feder offers supplementary notes in WSt 41 (1920), 51-60, 167-181.

The edition of HIPPOLYTUS' *Refutatio* by *Wendland* is designed to replace the Göttingen edition by Duncker and Schneidewin, the Oxford edition by Miller, and the Paris edition by Cruice. This end has been fully attained. The volume cannot, however, be taken up without sadness, for *Wendland* died (1915) before he had finished his work. A short preface signed by Hermann Diels and Karl Holl informs us that *Wendland* was able to supervise the printing of the text and to prepare the indexes; but for the introduction, which was to deal not only with the history of the tradition, but also with material problems, he had got no farther than a sketch, only a few parts of which had been completely worked out. No attempt has been made to make a whole out of these fragments. The only addition to the author's work is the account of the manuscripts and printed editions which was indispensable to the use of the edition. One excellence of this new edition, as in *Holl's* *Epiphanius*, are the references beneath the text to cognate ideas in other authors. The short tractate of IRENAEUS, preserved only in Armenian, in proof of the Apostolic preaching, was translated into German by *Weber* 1912 for the Bibliothek der Kirchengväter. He has now published it in Latin translation. Scholars who know Armenian, like *Allgeier* (*ThRev* 17, 1918, 253) and *Preuschen* (*ThLZ* 44, 1919, 77), praise the trust-

worthiness of this literal translation. In 1891 *Bonwetsch* made accessible to us a collection of the works of *METHODIUS* by a Slavic translator which greatly enlarged our knowledge of the literary production of the Bishop of Olympus. The new edition of his work unites in one volume all the remains of the writings of Methodius. A comparison of the introduction to this volume with the Prolegomena of the edition of 1891 shows at every point that in the meantime Bonwetsch has not been idle. In view of the completeness with which all the attainable material has been brought together and the thoroughly reliable way in which it has been edited, the edition may well be called definitive. The volume begins with the *συμπόσιον ἢ περὶ ἀγνείας* (this is the correct title), for which Bonwetsch has had recourse to the direct tradition. This is followed by the other writings in the order in which they stand in the Slavic Corpus; and at the end are the fragments from *περὶ τῶν γενητῶν* (Photius), *κατὰ Πορφυρίου*, on Job, *περὶ μαρτύρων* (Theodoret, *Parallela Sacra*), and some fragments which it is impossible to assign definitely. The copious index of passages makes it easy to get an insight into Methodius's sources and cognate material.

After the death of Franz Skutsch the edition of the Homilies of *ORIGEN* on Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Joshua and Judges, was entrusted to *Baehrens*, who in a study published in 1916 in the TU made clear the relations of the textual tradition. For the history of the text it is an important fact that, as Baehrens proved, the five archetypes of the Latin translation preserved to us come from Cassiodorus's library at Vivarium, whither they had probably been brought from the library of Eugippius in Castellum Lucullanum. There was no other tradition of the text than that which goes back to these archetypes. The Greek fragments are included in the edition under a rule. It adds to the usefulness of the edition that the parallels found in Philo, Procopius, Ambrose, and especially in Origen himself, are included in the literary apparatus. An important aid is thus provided for the study of the Alexandrian interpretation of the Bible, since the large dependence of Origen upon Philo is nowhere more demonstrable than in these Homilies.

Rauschen's editions of two writings of TERTULLIAN, designed primarily for seminary exercises, have text-critical value. Professor Esser in Bonn, one of the most competent judges in the matter, has described the edition of 'De paenitentia' and 'De pudicitia' as the best that we possess. In many places the correct reading has been restored, and the text is accompanied by an ample apparatus of valuable notes. On these editions cf. further, *G. Esser*, *ThRev* 15 (1916), 65 and 16 (1917), 256. — On the edition of the Pseudo-Cyprianic treatise 'De rebaptismate' cf. the additional critical remarks of *Ernst*, *ZkTh* 41 (1917), 726–741. For the work of VICTORINUS no editor better qualified by his knowledge of the subject could well have been found than *Haussleiter*. He has been occupied with preparations for a complete edition of this author for the Vienna Corpus ever since 1886. He discovered that in Cod. Ottobon. 3288A the commentary on the Apocalypse by the bishop of Pettau was preserved in its original form, not disfigured by Jerome's alterations, as in all the printed editions. His efforts to discover other witnesses to this text were unfortunately vain, and the Ottobonianus remains our only source. Facing the genuine Victorinus laboriously recovered from that manuscript, *Haussleiter* sets on the opposite page the bastard text of Jerome, distinguishing in it the later recensions by means of an easily intelligible system of brackets. Those who use the edition can hardly realize what a wearisome task this presentation of the text involved. The edition of the Commentary is preceded by the little treatise 'De fabrica mundi.' For the text of this also there is only a single witness, the Lambeth Codex 414.

b. Translations

Bibliothek der Kirchenväter. Eine Auswahl patristischer Werke in deutscher Uebersetzung. Hrsg. von *Otto Bardenhewer*, *Theodor Schermann*, *Carl Weyman*. 16–37. Band. Kempten und München, Kösel, 1914–1920. Jeder Band geb. M. 4, 50. — *Herling*, *Georg Graf von*, Die Bekenntnisse des hl. Augustinus. 8.–15. Aufl. x, 520 pp. Titelbild. 12°. Freiburg, Herder, 1915–'19. M. 5; geb. M. 6, 50. — *Oud-Christelijke Schrijvers in Nederlandsche Vertaling*, onder Redactie van *H. U. Meyboom*. Leiden, A. W. Sijthoff. Each Part, fl. 1, 50. — *Zettersteen K. V.*, En anonym biografi öfver biskop Rabbula i Edessa. Öfversatt från syriska (KÅ 16, 1915,

1-40). — *Zurhellen-Pfleiderer, Else*, Augustins Bekenntnisse. Gekürzt und verdeutsch. 3. Auflage. 159 pp. Göttingen, Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1920. M. 2, 50.

That important undertaking, the *Bibliothek der Kirchenväter*, the first volumes of which appeared in 1911, has made active progress. The translations are in all cases careful; the introductions, frequently dealing minutely with the subject, are based upon thorough acquaintance with the literature, and may be consulted with advantage even for questions of critical detail. The following volumes have appeared in the period covered by our survey; volumes 17, 21, and 32, Ambrosius, Hexameron, Lukaskommentar, Ethische Schriften (*J. E. Niederhuber*); 35, Apostolische Väter (*F. Zeiler*); 31, Athanasius, Reden gegen die Arianer (*A. Stegmann*); Leben des Antonius, and (as an appendix) Leben des Pachomius (*H. Mertel*); 16, 18, 19, 28, 29, 30, Augustinus, Gottesstaat (*A. Schröder*); Johannes-evangelium (*Th. Specht*); Bekenntnisse und Briefe (*A. Hoffmann*); 20, Regel Benedicts von Nursia (*P. Bihlmeyer*); 23, 25, 26, 27, Chrysostomus, Matthäuskommentar (*J. Chr. Bauer*); Vom Priestertum (*A. Naegle*); 34, Cyprian, Traktate (*J. Baer*); 37, Ephraem der Syrer, Reden und Hymnen (*O. Bardenhewer*); 33, Justin, Dialog und Mahnrede (*Ph. Häuser*); 36, Laktantius (*A. Hartl*); 20, Sulpicius Severus, Martin-schriften (*P. Bihlmeyer*); 24, Tertullian II (*G. Esser*); 20, Vincenz von Lerinum (*G. Rauschen*); 22, Persische Märtyrer (*O. Braun*).

In the collection of Dutch translations under the direction of *Meyboom*, the works of Clement of Alexandria (11 parts), and Irenaeus's "Weerleging en Afwending der valschelijk dusge-naamde Wetenschap" (4 parts), both by *Meyboom*, have appeared. In the judgment of *Bakuizen van den Brink* the translation is faithful and readable.

c. General Works on Patristics

Bardenhewer, Otto, Geschichte der altkirchlichen Literatur. 2. Band. Vom Ende des 2. bis zum Anfang des 4. Jahrhunderts. 2. Aufl. xiv, 729 pp. Freiburg, Herder, 1914. M. 14; geb. M. 16, 60. — *Marx, J.*, Abriss der Patrologie. 2. Aufl. viii, 201 pp. Paderborn, Schöningh, 1919. M. 6. — *Schanz*,

Martin, Geschichte der römischen Litteratur bis zum Gesetzgebungswerk des Kaisers Justinian. 4. Teil: 1. Hälfte: Die Litteratur des vierten Jahrhunderts. 2. Aufl. xv, 572 pp. München, Beck, 1914. M. 17, 50; geb. M. 33, 50. 2. Hälfte: Die Litteratur des fünften und sechsten Jahrhunderts. Von *Martin Schanz* (†), *Carl Hosius* und *Gustav Krüger*. xviii, 681 pp. Ebenda 1920. M. 50; geb. M. 72.

The second edition of the second volume of *Bardenhewer's* Litteraturgeschichte everywhere gives evidence of careful revision. The formal side of the writings, in particular, receives more attention, and the sections on the development of the literature in general have been thoroughly recast. It may be remarked here that the concluding volume of Bardenhewer's work has not yet appeared. On the other hand, Schanz's *Römische Literaturgeschichte* has been brought to completion, and in it a work of reference created such as in similar comprehensiveness we have hitherto not had either in German or in any other language. After Schanz's death (1914) the task was taken up by *Hosius*, professor of classical philology in Würzburg, and *Krüger*, professor of theology in Giessen, the author of the present review. While in the part of the work which he undertook Hosius was able to avail himself of preparatory studies by Schanz which were already well advanced, Krüger had to break up completely new ground, so that the part published by him is entirely his own production. Especial pains have been taken in the characterization of the several writers, the assembling of the whole scientific apparatus, and the exposition of the learned controversies. That the author was enabled to include the most recent literature in English he owes to the active assistance of Professor Alexander Souter in Cambridge. Inasmuch as in a work of this kind the personality of the author is completely in the background, it will not be regarded as an exhibition of vanity on his part if in this place he says of his own work that it will be an indispensable aid for all learned studies in the history of the literature of its period.³

³ It may be noted here that the third part of Schanz, comprising the literature from Minucius Felix to Lactantius, which is at present out of print, will be ready in a new edition, completely revised by the present writer, in the autumn of this year.

d. *Monographs and Critical Investigations*

1. GENERAL.

Baur L., Untersuchungen über die Vergöttlichungslehre in der Theologie der griechischen Väter (ThQ 98, 1916, 467-491; 99, 1917/18, 225-252; 100, 1919, 426-444). — *Bousset, Wilhelm*, Jüdisch-christlicher Schulbetrieb in Alexandria und Rom. (FRLANT, Neue Folge, 6). viii, 319. Göttingen, Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1915. M. 12. — *Emmel, Karl*, Das Fortleben der antiken Lehren von der Beseelung bei den Kirchenvätern. (Diss. Giessen.) v, 107. Borna-Leipzig, Noske.* — *Harnack, Adolf von*, Der "Eros" in der alten christlichen Literatur. (SAB 1918, v, 81-94). Berlin, Reimer, 1918. M. 1. — *Harnack, Adolf von*, Die Terminologie der Wiedergeburt und verwandter Erlebnisse in der ältesten Kirche. (TU 42, 3, 97-143). Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1918. M. 13, 20 [see below, under Origen]. — *Holzhey, Karl*, Das Bild der Erde bei den Kirchenvätern. (Festgabe Knöpfler [supra p. 287], 177-187). — *Huebner, Margarete*, Untersuchungen über das Naturrecht in der altchristlichen Literatur, besonders des Abendlandes, vom Ausgang des 2. Jahrhunderts bis Augustin. (Diss.) xi, 82. Bonn, Georgi, 1918. — *Kneller, C. A.*, Joh. 19, 26-27 bei den Kirchenvätern (ZNTh 40, 1916, 597-612). — *Krüger, Gustav*, Die Bibeldichtung zu Ausgang des Altertums. Mit einem Anhang: Des Avitus von Vienna Sang vom Paradiese, zweites Buch, im Versmass der Urschrift übertragen. 32. Giessen, Töpelmann, 1919. M. 2. — *Loofs, Friedrich*, Die Christologie der Macedonianer. (Studien für Hauck [supra p. 288], 64-76); Zwei macedonianische Dialoge. (SAB 1914, xix, 526-551). Berlin, Reimer, 1914. M. 1. — *Meyer, Hans*, Geschichte der Lehre von den Keimkräften von der Stoa bis zum Ausgang der Patristik. v, 227. Bonn, Hanstein, 1914. M. 4, 50. — *Nelz, R.*, Die theologischen Schulen der morgenländischen Kirchen während der sieben ersten christlichen Jahrhunderte in ihrer Bedeutung für die Ausbildung des Klerus. iii, 112. Bonn, Hanstein, 1916. M. 1, 50. — *Schilling, Otto*, Naturrecht und Staat nach der Lehre der alten Kirche. (VRSG 24). viii, 247. Paderborn, Schöningh, 1914. M. 7. — *Schulte, Eleazar, O. F. M.*, Die Entwicklung der Lehre vom menschlichen Wissen Christi. (FLDG 12, 2). vii, 147. Paderborn, Schöningh, 1914. M. 4, 50. — *Walther, Georg*, Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der griechischen Vaterunser-Exegese. (TU 40, 3). viii, 123. Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1914. M. 4, 50. — *Zahn, Theodor*, Ein Kompendium der biblischen Prophetie aus der afrikanischen Kirche um 305-325. (Studien Hauck [supra p. 288], 52-63). — *Haase, Felix*, Christlich-orientalische Handschriftenkataloge (Ehrengabe [vide supra, p. 287], 1-15).

GENERAL. The variety of subjects brought together under this heading is so great that the reviewer is constrained to abandon any attempt at a methodical grouping and to fall back upon the simple alphabetical order. *Bauer's* investigation has to do with the question how the doctrine of *θέωσις* was

* *Haase*, see below (after Zahn).

worked out into the comprehensive, speculative, fundamental concept of the dogmatics of the church, so that it was not only made fruitful for the theoretical comprehension of Christian doctrine, but the moral demands and the content of the sacramental liturgy were linked with it, and thus the glow of Christian mysticism could be kindled from it and inflamed to the highest pitch. Bauer endeavors to make this clear to begin with in the writers of the first two centuries. The articles are not yet concluded: Irenaeus and Clement are still lacking.

The theme which *Bousset* treats is equally significant for philologists and theologians. In a study of the writings of Philo and Clement of Alexandria he came upon the problem how to separate what was original in the two men from what they had received through a school tradition. Investigation showed that Philo built up his exegetical work on an older foundation which is almost everywhere clearly recognizable. The sources which he thus used stand much nearer to the spirit of Hellenistic culture and philosophy than Philo himself. This material came to him from Jewish exegetical schools in Alexandria. Similarly Clement in large parts of the *Excerpts* and *Eclogae*, apparently also in his *Hypotypes*, drew largely from an extraneous source characterized by peculiar ideas which Bousset designates as in the broader sense of the word gnostic; as the author he is inclined to conjecture Pantænus. In the *Paedagogus* and the first five books of the *Stromata*, Clement is more independent; while the last books show that after he left Alexandria he fell back upon his earlier note books. Thus, as we find the products of Jewish exegetical schools behind the literary productions of Philo, so there emerges behind those of Clement the teaching of the Alexandrian catechetical school. Bousset thinks that the work of very different minds is clearly to be discerned in it — antiquarians whose learning commanded Clement's highest respect, and theosophists who influenced his whole thinking, although his personal interest did not fasten upon their perilous fantastic notions, but was throughout dominated by the great idea of a reconciliation of Christianity with Greek philosophy. With the key to the understanding of Philo and Clement which he has thus discovered, Bousset endeavors in

the last section of his book to explain certain phenomena in the Christian literature of the second century, and to gain an insight into the nature of the ancient Christian διδάσκαλος and his method of instruction. The work in all its parts is unusually stimulating, and will keep its charm under critical examination and in further development. That its author was taken away by an untimely death (March 8, 1920) ⁴ is a great loss to international scholarship. — *Emmel's* dissertation deserves attention both on account of its subject and of the copious material which the author has collected. Emmel shows how the controversy about the origin of animal life in the foetus which had its rise in Greek philosophy was taken up in Christianity, and particularly the form and application which the Church Fathers gave it in order to create a theoretical substructure capable of supporting the doctrine of original sin.

Haase gives a catalogue of the Syrian, Armenian, Coptic, Arabic, Aethiopic, and Abyssinian manuscripts of Christian origin. They offer much material for the textual criticism of the Old and New Testaments, for liturgics, hagiography, the history of theological literature, and heresiology. Through the numerous Apocrypha preserved in them, they are also an inexhaustible mine for folk-lore and for piety.

Harnack aims to exhibit the development through which the conception of ἔρως as sensual love, which was current among Christian writers (Ignat. ad Rom. 7), was transformed into the lofty appraisal of it that is found in Origen and still more in Dionysius the Areopagite: θεϊότερον εἶναι τὸ τοῦ ἔρωτος ὄνομα τοῦ τῆς ἀγάπης. In the essay named in the second place above Harnack gives a wide extension to the idea of 'regeneration'; almost everything is discussed which stands in any relation to the Christian 'renewal' (ἀνακαίνωσις). The article is not merely a collection of materials, but makes contributions to methodology. Harnack is especially concerned to oppose the — in his opinion erroneous — method of the historians of religion, who think that they throw light upon the Christian religion by ascertaining where particular opinions, ideas, and images origi-

⁴ Not March 15, as was stated by mistake in the January number of this Review, p. 20, n. 4.

nated, and what their original meaning was. — *Holzhey* has treated an interesting theme with much intelligence. He shows how the doctrine of the spherical form of the earth, which was entirely familiar to Greek science, fell into discredit with the Fathers in their endeavour to rescue the Mosaic account of creation and especially the biblical idea of the *σπερῶμα*, and eventually so completely disappeared that it had to be rediscovered at the end of the Middle Ages. — *Kneller* shows that the Fathers interpreted the words of Jesus on the cross to his mother and to John as a testimony to the birth from the Virgin, and to give support to the custom of *virgines subintroductae*. — *Krüger*'s endeavour is chiefly to rescue the poetical paraphrase of Scripture by Avitus of Vienna from unmerited oblivion. He sees in it the climax of epic composition in the ancient church, reminiscences of which may be discovered even in Milton. — *Loofs* supplements his numerous studies on the history of the Arian controversy by an admirable account of the homoiousian party, for the purpose of illumining the Christology of the Macedonians, who developed out of that party under homoian influence. In the second of the articles noted he has investigated the Macedonian quotations in Didymus of Alexandria, and with them collected the other scanty identifiable remains of Macedonian writings. — Especially to be commended is the admirable study of *Meyer* on the doctrine of the *λόγοι σπερματικοί* in Greek philosophy and in the Church Fathers. It would be hard to find an equally thorough philosophical investigation which deals with difficult problems in so readable and suggestive a fashion. Augustine is treated with especial thoroughness.

Schilling's work is occasioned by Troeltsch's celebrated book on the 'Soziallehren.' He is not convinced that Troeltsch is right in his contention that the state and its institutions appeared to the early ecclesiastical writers to be founded upon 'Urfreveln der Menschheit,' and that consequently these writers contradict their own fundamental principle when—since they could not simply reject the state—they took up and adapted the Stoic *lex naturae* to give a justification to it. In *Schilling*'s view no such contradiction exists. The truth is rather that in

regarding the state from the point of view of the law of nature, these writers were not adapting kindred, but non-Christian, forces and ideas; the law of nature is, on the contrary, from the very beginning rooted and grounded in the Christian idea as it is set forth by Jesus (Matt. 7, 12) and by Paul. To prove this Schilling treats first the classical doctrine of the law of nature in the Stoa and the doctrine of the Roman jurists, and then traces the development of the Christian doctrine of the law of nature in the individual Fathers down to Isidore of Seville. The addition and expansion which Schilling thus gives to Troeltsch's presentation of the subject are recognized by Troeltsch himself as valuable (ThLZ 40, 1915, 435, and HZ 115, 1915, 99-109). — In her re-examination of the problem Fräulein *Huebner* comes to the result that the Fathers, notwithstanding all their agreement with the Stoic theory, did not find their way to a recognition of the state. The historical state appeared to them, in spite of everything, as a result of sin; and they gave hardly any serious consideration to the possibility of a development of it on the good side. According to Fräulein *Huebner* therefore Troeltsch's conclusion must be regarded as substantially established.

The problem of the human knowledge of Christ ever afresh occupies theologians, most recently Bishop Gore (The Problem of the Consciousness of our Lord in his Mortal Life, 1917). *Schulte* gives a résumé of the history of the problem from Origen to the Carolingian theologians. Unfortunately, as F. Diekamp in ThRev 14 (1915), 101-108 has shown by numerous examples, the work lacks critical acumen and accuracy in details. — *Walther* investigates the question whether the Greek patristic interpreters of the Lord's Prayer were influenced by one another in their understanding of it, and if so to what extent. The Fathers examined are Clement, Origen, Cyril of Jerusalem, Gregory of Nyssa, Chrysostom, Cyril of Alexandria, Maximus Confessor, and Peter of Laodicea. It turns out that they hardly ever get beyond the questions which Origen had raised. Cyril of Jerusalem influenced especially Gregory and Chrysostom. The influence of the latter Fathers is not easy to estimate, but that of Chrysostom is evident in Peter. Val-

uable critical additions are made by G. Wohlenberg, ThLBl 35 (1915), 82-86. — *Zahn* reprints, after a fresh collation, the 'Prophetiae ex omnibus libris,' which Amelli published in the Miscellanea Casinense from Cod. Sangall. 133. *Zahn* considers it to be a handbook of biblical prophecy for readers who had small acquaintance with the Scriptures. Compare the review by G. Wohlenberg, ThLBl 36 (1916), 65-69.

2. THE FATHERS, IN ALPHABETICAL ORDER.

AMBROSIASTER. *Mundle, Wilhelm*, Die Exegese der paulinischen Briefe im Kommentar des Ambrosiaster. Diss. 95 pp. Marburg i. H., Chr. Schaaf. AMBROSIUS. *Friedrich, Philipp*, St. Ambrosius von Mailand über die Jungfräulichkeit Marias vor der Geburt (Kath. 97, 2, 1917, 145-169, 232-258, 319-333; St. Ambrosius von Mailand über die Jungfraugeburt Marias. (Festgabe Knöpfler [supra p. 287], 89-109). AMMONIUS. *Zahn, Theodor*, Der Exeget Ambrosius (ZKG 38, 1920, 1-22, 311-336). APOLOGISTS. *Andres, Friedrich*, Die Engellehre der griechischen Apologeten des zweiten Jahrhunderts und ihr Verhältnis zur griechisch-römischen Dämonologie (FLDG 12, 3). xx, 183 pp. Paderborn, Schöningh, 1914. M 6. — *Casel, Odo*, Die Eucharistielehre des hl. Justinus Martyr (Kath. 94, 1, 1914, 153-176, 243-263, 331-355, 414-436). — *Friedrich, Philipp*, Studien zum Lehrbegriff des frühchristlichen Apologeten Marcianus Aristides (ZkTh 43, 1919, 31-77). — *Haase, Felix*, Der Adressat der Aristides-Apologie (ThQ 99, 1918, 422-429). — *Harnack, Adolf von*, Rhodon und Apelles. (Studien Hauck [see p. 288], 39-51). — *Preuschen, Erwin*, Die Echtheit von Justins Dialog gegen Trypho (ZNW 19, 1920, 102-127). — *Waibel, Alfons*, Die natürliche Gotteserkenntnis in der apologetischen Litteratur des zweiten Jahrhunderts. (Diss. Breslau.) ii, 140 pp. Kempten, Kösel, 1916. ASTERIUS OF AMASEA. *Bretz, Adolf*, Studien und Texte zu Asterios von A. (TU 40, 1). iv, 124 pp. Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1914. M. 4. ATHANASIUS. *Hugger, V.*, Des heiligen Athanasius Traktat in Matth. 11, 27 (ZkTh 42, 1918, 437-441). — *Reitzenstein, Richard*, Des Athanasius Werk über das Leben des heiligen Antonius. (SAH 1914, 8). [See below under Monasticism, p. 369 f.] — *Stegmann, Anton*, Die pseudoathanasianische ivte Rede gegen die Arianer als *κατὰ Ἀπειανῶν λόγος* ein Apollinarisgut. 214 pp. Rottenburg, Baader, 1917. M. 4, 50; Zur Datierung der drei Reden des hl. Athanasius gegen die Arianer (ThQ 96, 1914, 423-450; cp. 98, 1916, 227-231). — *Weigl, Eduard*, Untersuchungen zur Christologie des heiligen Athanasius. (FLDG 12, 4). viii, 190 pp. Paderborn, Schöningh, 1914. M. 16. — *Woldendorp, Johannes Jacob*, De incarnatione. Een Geschrift van Athanasius. (Diss.) 72 pp. Groningen, Wolters, 1919. AUGUSTINUS. *Aalders, W. J., A.* 's bekeer- ing (Stemmen des tijds 4, 1915, 1-28. 123-155). — *Adam, Karl*, Die kirchliche Sündenvergebung nach dem heiligen Augustinus. (FLDG 14, 1). x, 167 pp. Paderborn, Schöningh, 1917. M. 6. — *Boehmer, Heinrich*, Die Lobpreisungen des Augustinus (NkZ 26, 1915, 419-438, 487-512). — *Draeseke, Johannes*, Zur Frage nach den Quellen von Augustins Kenntnis der griechischen Philosophie (ThStKr 89, 1916, 541-562). — *Eisenhofer, Lud-*

wig, A. in den Evangelien Homilien Gregors des Grossen. (Festgabe Knöpfler [supra p. 287], 56–66). — *Haitjema*, Th. L., A'. Wetenschapsidee. 247 pp. Utrecht, van Druten, 1917. — *Harnack*, Adolf von, Die Höhepunkte in Augustins Konfessionen. (Aus der Friedens- und Kriegsarbeit [supra p. 294 f.], 67–99). — *Hessen*, Johannes, Die Begründung der Erkenntnis nach dem heiligen Augustinus. (BGPhM 19, 2). xii, 118 p. Münster i. W., Aschendorff, 1916. M. 4, 20; Die unmittelbare Gotteserkenntnis nach dem hl. Augustinus. 60 pp. Paderborn, Schoeningh, 1919. M. 4, 50. — *Hünemann*, Friedrich, Die Busslehre des heil. Augustinus. (FLDG 12, 1). xii, 157 pp. Paderborn, Schoeningh, 1914. M. 4. — *Jülicher*, Adolf, Augustinus und die Topik der Aretalogie (Hermes 54, 1919, 94–103). — *Karsten*, H. T., Een Commentaar op Augustinus de civitate dei. [H. Scholz 1911] (NThT 3, 1914, 64–74). — *Kratzer*, Die Frage nach dem Seelendualismus bei Augustinus (AGPh 21, 1915, 310–336, 369–395). — *Lindau*, Hans, Augustin und das Daemonische (ZKG 36, 1916, 99–108). — *Mager*, Alois, Die Staatslehre des Augustinus. 15 p. München, Lentner, 1920. — *Noerregard*, J., Augustins religiöse Gennembrud [Conversion]. (Diss.) 343 pp. Kopenhagen, Pio, 1920. — *Offergelt*, Franz, Die Staatslehre des heil. A. nach seinen sämtlichen Werken. viii, 86 pp. Bonn, Hanstein, 1914. M. 1, 50. — *Ohl*, Augustins Lehre über die Tugenden der Heiden (NkZ 25, 1914, 413–449). — *Peters*, J., Die Ehe nach der Lehre des heil. A. (VRSG 32). viii, 77 pp. Paderborn, Schoeningh, 1918. M. 3, 60. — *Poschmann*, Bernhard, Hat A. die Privatbusse eingeführt? 34 pp. Braunsberg, Bender, 1920. M. 3, 20. — *Rolfes*, E., Hat Augustin Plato nicht gelesen? (DTh 5, 1918, 17–39). — *Rüting*, W., Untersuchungen über Augustins Quaestiones und Locutiones in Heptateuchum. (FLDG 13, 3. 4). x, 390 pp. Paderborn, Schöningh, 1916. M. 15. — *Troeltsch*, Ernst, Augustin, die christliche Antike und das Mittelalter. (Historische Bibliothek 36). xii, 173 pp. München, Oldenbourg, 1915. M. 11. CASSIANUS. *Schwartz*, Eduard, Konzilstudien. 1. Cassian und Nestorius. (SchrGesStr 20, 1–17). Strassburg, Trübner, 1914, M. 3, 60. — *Wrzöl*, L., Die Psychologie des Johannes Cassianus. (DTh 5, 1918, 181–213, 425–456). CHRYSOSTOMUS. *Naegle*, August, Zeit und Veranlassung des Abfassung des Chrysost.-Dialogs de sacerdotio. (HJG 37, 1916, 1–48). — *Schiewietz*, Stephan, Die Eschatologie des heiligen Chrysost. und ihr Verhältnis zu der origenistischen (Kath 94, 1, 1914, 271–281, 370–379, 436–448). — *Stiglmayr*, Josef, Die historische Grundlage der Schrift des heiligen Chrysost. über das Priestertum (ZkTh 41, 1917, 413–449). CLAUDIANUS MAMERTUS. *Zimmermann*, F., Des Cl. M. Schrift De statu animae libri tres (DTh 1, 1914, 332–368, 470–495). CLEMENS OF ALEXANDRIA. *Eibl*, H., Die Stellung des Clemens v. Alex. zur griechischen Bildung (ZPhKr 164, 1917, 33–59). COMMODIANUS. *Martin*, Josef, Commodiana. Textkritische Beiträge zur Ueberlieferung, Verstechnik und Sprache der Gedichte Commodians. (SAW 181, 6). 118 p. Wien, Hoelder, 1917; Spuren einer alten Weiheformel bei Commodian. (ZNW 16, 1915, 231–233). — *Vroom*, H. B., De Commodiani metro et syntaxi annotationes. (Diss.) Utrecht. 1917. CYPRIAN. *Dessau*, Hermann, Pontius, der Biograph Cyprians (Hermes 51, 1916, 65–92). — *Kneller*, Karl Alois, Der heilige Cyprian und das Kennzeichen der Kirche (115. Ergänzungsheft zu den StML). iv, 72 pp. Freiburg, Herder, 1914, M. 1, 80; [vide infra Pesch, Nestorius]; Sacramentum Uni-

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* HILARIUS, see below (after Vincentius of Lerinum).

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AMBROSIASER. The importance of the Ambrosiaster in the history of exegesis justifies the detailed discussion which *Mundle* devotes to his commentary on the Pauline epistles. As a result it appears that Ambrosiaster did not do full justice to the peculiar formulation of Paul's ideas. He was too sober and rationalistic to do so, and very little genuine religious feeling is to be discovered in him; but the fact that he is unaffected by the allegorical method of the Alexandrians, the comparative

absence of bias in his exegesis, and its acuteness, give him a right to an honorable place in the history of interpretation. On the question who the author was, Mundle also is unable to say anything certain. He does not accept any of the hypotheses thus far advanced, including Morin's last, which identifies him with Evagrius of Antioch, translator of the *Vita Antonii*. — **AMBROSIUS.** *Friedrich* gives a painstaking account of the numerous utterances of Ambrose about the Virgin Mary, in connection with that Fathers's general attitude to the idea of flight from the world and of virginity. The author's Catholic standpoint exempts him from the necessity of a critical treatment. — **AMMONIUS.** *Zahn* believes himself warranted in claiming, among the numerous Ammoniuses, as the only possible author of the Scholia to the Gospel of John and to the Acts, and the other fragments which with more or less confidence are attributed to an Ammonius, one of the four so-called 'Tall Brothers' (*οἱ μακροί*), who played a considerable part in Egypt about 400 in the history of the Origenistic controversy. In his exegesis also Ammonius is true to his decisive rejection of the crude notions of the anthropomorphists. — **APOLOGISTS.** *Andres* sets forth the angelology and demonology of the Greek Apologists, followed by a presentation of contemporary Greek and Roman demonology, and inquires into the mutual relations of the Hellenic and Christian views. He emphasizes the endeavour of the Apologists, in spite of their unmistakable borrowings from the Greeks, to set up an independent doctrine of spirits over against heathen beliefs. The work is trustworthy, and based upon comprehensive material. An exhaustive bibliography, enumerating something like two hundred books and articles, is appended. — *Haase* comes out very positively for the tradition, attested by Eusebius but rejected by most modern investigators, that Aristides presented his apology to the emperor Hadrian, not to Antoninus Pius. The present reviewer is inclined to agree with him. — In connection with the well known story in Eusebius Hist. Eccl. v. 13 about a conversation between the Apologist Rhodon and the Marcionite Apelles, *Harnack* contrasts the two theologians in a brilliant characterization. — The doubts which

have been occasionally expressed about the genuineness of Justin's Dialogue with Trypho have been materially strengthened by *Preuschen's* thorough investigation. His opinion is that, if the Dialogue be not wholly spurious and composed later than Irenaeus and Tertullian with the use of their writings, it must at least have been interpolated in the third century; the Dialogue cannot have attained its present form earlier than 249 A.D. Whether this contention will stand the test of re-examination remains to be seen. Unfortunately the author, who died May 25, 1920, was not able to bring his study to entire completion. — *Waibel's* painstaking dissertation gives a good insight into the philosophical thinking of the Apologists, but does not bring out anything new. — ASTERIUS OF AMASEA. *Bretz* re-examines and carries farther the works of Max Schmid and Michael Bauer which appeared in 1911. Contrary to Bauer he regards the Encomium on St. Basil as not genuine; but believes himself to have demonstrated the genuineness of the three discourses attested by Photius (on Stephen, Concerning Penitence, and the Fast-day Sermon). In a concluding section he treats of Asterius's relation to Greek rhetoric and on the features of the diatribe recognizable in his diction and style.

ATHANASIUS. Against Loofs and Stülcken, who would date the discourses against the Arians as early as about 338, *Stegmann*, relying upon external testimonies and internal criteria, adheres to the traditional date of about 357. In a careful examination Stegmann has again proved the spuriousness of the fourth discourse against the Arians, of which scholars familiar with the subject, have long been convinced. The present reviewer doubts whether he is right in recognizing in this discourse a writing of Apollinaris of Laodicea. Stegmann has done a useful service in editing the text critically upon the basis of the entire manuscript tradition, though material deviations from the text of the current editions do not result. — *Weigl's* presentation of the Athanasian Christology, though otherwise well done, suffers from the fact that the author employs as trustworthy sources such contested writings as the fourth discourse against the Arians, the books against Apollinaris, and 'De incarnatione Verbi.' — In a Berlin dissertation

of 1913 Tr. Kehrhahn endeavored to prove that in the treatise on the incarnation of the Logos attributed to the youthful Athanasius, Eusebius's Theophania was used, which would exclude the possibility of its being a work of the Alexandrian Father. *Woldendorp* holds that this thesis is not established, and attempts to prove that Athanasius is the author by a elaborate comparison of the theology of the 'De incarnatione' with that of his later writings. On the other hand H. Windisch in the Museum, 1920, has corroborated Kehrhahn's observations by the comparison of a whole series of new passages, so that the question about the genuineness of the youthful production has again become a burning one.

AUGUSTINE. Of works upon Augustine *Troeltsch's* is by far the most important. In it he endeavors to prove that the idea that Augustine was the intellectual pioneer of the Middle Ages, which has become current especially through modern works on the history of doctrine, is erroneous. Augustine is rather to be regarded as the consummator of Christianized antiquity. It is needless to say that Troeltsch has no intention of denying or minimizing the actual influence of Augustine's thinking on the Middle Ages. In this, however, he sees, not a development of genuine Augustinianism, but an entirely different spirit and meaning, the explanation of which is to be found in the completely changed character of mediaeval culture in contrast to the ancient world. Accordingly, in 'De Civitate Dei,' which he makes the starting point of his discussion, he sees, not the product of reflection on the philosophy of history by which directives for the future are projected, but only the final outcome of ancient Christian apologetic, the last great attempt to justify the church against the old charge that it was responsible for the dissolution of Roman society. The positive significance of Augustine's attempt lies, according to Troeltsch, in the creation of the first great 'Kulturethik,' an ethic which, however, is wholly oriented to ancient conditions. For my part, I am of the opinion that this thesis is one-sided, and in particular that however fully we may recognize the apologetic intention of 'De Civitate Dei,' the work has every right to be described as a philosophy of history, and the first work that deserves that

name. However that may be, Troeltsch has developed his thesis in a masterly way, in regard both to the development of Augustine as an ethical thinker and to the particular features of his ethics. Troeltsch lays particular emphasis upon the erroneousness of the widely current notion that Augustine defined his two *Civitates* empirically simply as State and Church. For Augustine there are here only relations, not equations. His subject throughout is Christian salvation and heathen corruption, nowhere State and Church as such. The Middle Ages approached the latter far-reaching problem from its own pre-suppositions, and in doing so was able to claim Augustine for its theory of the relation of *regnum* and *sacerdotium*. An English translation of Troeltsch's book is to be desired, in order that the discussion he has started may have as wide a response as possible. He himself gratefully acknowledges his obligation to previous works of others, for instance to the brothers Carlyle (*History of Mediaeval Political Theory in the West*), Mausbach (*Die Ethik des heiligen Augustinus*), Schilling (*Die Staats- und Soziallehre des hl. Augustin*), Scholz (*Glaube und Unglaube in der Weltgeschichte*), and others. A very good critical summary of Troeltsch's position is given by H. Lindau, ZKG 37 (1918), 406-432. His excellent remarks on the demonic should not be overlooked. — *Offergelt's* discussions of the doctrine of the state in Augustine are in the same general line with Troeltsch's. He too gives warning against imputing to Augustine a modern idea of the state, and like Troeltsch points out that one of the principal sources of erroneous interpretation is the habit of translating *civitas terrena*, which expresses a metaphysical or religious-ethical conception, by the word 'state,' thus making of it an empirical magnitude. He does not however question the fact that Augustine's teaching contains materials for the construction of a theocratic legal system. — *Boehmer* in a finely elaborated study shows that Augustine's life-long repentance is one-sidedly judged when it is viewed exclusively from the standpoint of the Confessions, forgetting that the predominating note in it is praise to God who had so graciously led him. — *Draeseke* with good reason doubts that Augustine had read Plato in any other way than through a

translation, and refers the quotations from the *Timaeus* in *De Civitate Dei* to Cicero's version of that dialogue. *Rolfes'* arguments to the contrary are not convincing. — *Haitjema's* characterization of Augustine's idea of science is in effect as follows: The theism of the Christian creed alone is capable of explaining the world, and no development of science is thinkable that Christianity is not capable of becoming master of. In the Neoplatonic idealism Augustine found a great deal of material which he could use upon his theistic basis. But science, morals, and religion are for him one thing. He is therefore not the 'modern man' that he is often called. He still did not see science as a unity in the light of universal divine grace. The several sciences, as fruits of civilization, are, however, gifts of the grace of God, and Christians should employ them to the glorifying of God. Christian science as such is the same with the *Civitas Dei*, and thus loses its independent worth. In particulars, there are good remarks upon Augustine's conversion, our conception of which should not be based exclusively either upon the *Confessions* or on the *Dialogues*. *Haitjema*, also, thinks that the thing of greatest moment in the conversion was the transformation of Augustine's moral life. — *Hessen* sums up the result of his investigation of Augustine's theory of the grounds of knowledge in the following theses: 1. By the side of the sphere of a priori intelligence (*sapientia*) Augustine recognized a realm of inferior knowledge (*scientia*), in which we are able to arrive at knowledge by induction and abstraction. 2. The so-called cosmological proof for the existence of God is not formally developed by Augustine, but is substantially present in his thought. 3. The specifically Augustinian proof of the existence of God is not the argument from causality, but rests upon a Platonic evaluation of the *veritates* and *rationes aeternae*. 4. The true meaning of his theory of divine illumination lies between the two extremes of the ontological and the Thomist doctrine. — *Hünemann* sees in Augustine an unexceptionable witness to the current Catholic doctrine of penance. This view, as *Adam* has correctly observed, is erroneous; it overlooks the decisive influence of Augustine's conception of the saving power of the particular gracious will of God on his

estimate of the sacraments, and of penance in particular. Ecclesiastical penance is for him not primarily what it was for Tertullian and Cyprian, an inducement to the utmost possible reparation of the fault; and not *excommunicatio* but *communio* is for him the true way of life in a real penitential discipline. This led him to advocate and to introduce in his diocese the form of penitence which was accomplished within the communion of the church and in the presence of the minister alone. Adam thus regards Augustine as the speculative founder of private penance in the Western Church. *Poschmann* takes the opposite side, and Scheel (ThLZ 45, 1920, 294 f.) gravely questions the thesis. At any rate it is very energetically propounded. — *Jülicher* shows that the Curma anecdote narrated by Augustine in his 'De cura pro mortuis gerenda' rests on an actual occurrence, and is therefore not a travel-tale to be relegated to the domain of Aretalogy. — In the judgment of Professor Ammundsen, *Noerregaard's* work is the best investigation we possess of the history of Augustine's conversion. In the discussion started particularly by Wilhelm Thimme (1910) about the value of the Confessions as a source for this history, Noerregaard takes a tolerably conservative position: the philosophical writings from the time when Augustine was living in Cassiciacum are more Christian than Thimme allows, and in the Confessions themselves Augustine's subsequent reflections are easily distinguished from his memory of the events. The author is master of the whole German, English and French literature on the subject. Alfarié's extensive work on Augustine's development, in which a somewhat different view is taken of the relative value of our sources, appeared too late for Noerregaard to avail himself of it, but he has treated independently and thoroughly Augustine's relations to Manichaeism and Neoplatonism. — *Aalders's* chief endeavor is to bring out clearly the continuity in Augustine's intellectual life before, in, and after his conversion. He bases his presentation on the Confessions and the philosophical Tractates: in the Confessions it is the catechumen and the future that speak, in the Tractates the rhetor and the past. [Bakhuizen van den Brink.]

CASSIAN. The chief importance of *Schwartz's* study lies in the new proof it gives of the preservation of fragments of Nestorius in the Massilian author, a more complete demonstration than that of Loofs in his *Nestoriana* (1905). — CHRYSOSTOM. *Naegle* (see, in addition to the essay named above, the extensive introduction to his translation of 'De sacerdotio' in BKV, *supra* p. 312) adopts the opinion most recently propounded by Colombo in the *Didaskaleion* (1912) that the dialogue form of the writing is purely a literary device, and supports this view with noteworthy arguments. *Stiglmayr*, on the contrary, abides by the opinion that Chrysostom's own account of the occasion of the composition (endeavor to escape the election to the bishopric) has a historical foundation. He accordingly dates the writing before 374, while Naegle with more probability assigns it to the years of Chrysostom's presbyterate, between 386 and 390. — COMMODIAN. *Martin's* essay is devoted to showing that Dombart's text of Commodian's poems in CSEL is in many places exposed to criticism. In the forefront stands the false estimate of the value of the two manuscripts in Leiden and Paris respectively, which Dombart treated as independent witnesses to the text, whereas in reality they are both derived from the Codex Berolinensis 167 (formerly in the Cheltenham Library). A fresh comparison of this manuscript led Martin to discover many errors in earlier collations which seriously impair the recension of the text. In the second of the articles named above, Martin makes it probable that in the composition of Instr. ii, 26 (*lectoribus*) Commodian was influenced by the ancient formula of consecration of which there is an echo also in Const. Apost. viii. 22, 2. See further below on Tertullian (Holl). — CYPRIAN. In a Würzburg manuscript *Reitzenstein* has found a small collection of genuine and spurious writings of Cyprian, of the major part of which account is given below under Pseudo-Cyprian. Internal evidence makes it certain that the collection comes from Donatist circles. The four Epistles contained in the collections (Epp. 67. 6. 4. 10, Hartel), besides other variations, exhibit a biblical text frequently different from that represented in the printed editions of the letters. *Mengis*, in an excellent dissertation, has care-

fully edited the Epistles and discussed the text of the quotations. — *Dessau* would identify Pontius, the author of the life of Cyprian, with a resident of Curubis who is proved by an inscription to have lived about the middle of the third century. If this is true we should have documentary evidence that the biographer was a contemporary of the bishop, which Reitzenstein (SHA 1913) had contested.

DIONYSIUS AREOPAGITA. In the studies which Koch, Stiglmayr, and others devoted to the Areopagite his dependence upon Proclus was proved. *Müller*, accepting this demonstration, has investigated the indications that lead to the conclusion that the Areopagite was directly acquainted with Plotinus also. He makes it probable that the Hierotheos, whom, along with Paulus, Dionysius names as his teacher, was no other than Plotinus himself. He discusses Dionysius' doctrine of the good and beautiful, of Eros, of the origin of evil, his doctrine of God and the ways to the knowledge of God, and finally of union with God. Copious extracts from the text both of Plotinus and of the Areopagite present the evidence to the eye of the reader. — *Sassen's* article offers nothing new to those who are acquainted with the subject. — *Gressmann* treats: 1. the formula of Elxai (Epiphanius, Haer. 19, 4, 3); 2. the first formula of the Marcosians (Haer. 34, 20, 2 ff.); 3. the second formula of the Marcosians (*ibid.*); 4. the names of the planets among the Pharisees (Haer. 16, 2 ff.). — *Holl* draws the attention of scholars to the fragments of three writings of Epiphanius against the worship of images which are transmitted in Nicephorus (about 815); namely, a fragment of a pamphlet, one of a letter to the emperor Theodosius I, and one of a testament of Epiphanius to his churches. The genuineness of these pieces is established by Holl on convincing grounds. Apropos of this luminous essay, *Wilpert* shows that in the face of such opinions as are propounded by Epiphanius, religious monumental art in the East could make but slow progress. See also below, p. 350 (Koch). — EUSEBIUS. *Doergens* has re-examined the notices about the Phoenician religion in the *Praeparatio Evangelica*, with unfavorable results. There is no trace whatever of actual acquaintance with the subject on the

part of the bishop of Caesarea; borrowed material is exclusively used. — *Zahn* brings weighty arguments to prove that the words $\delta\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \Pi\alpha\mu\phi\acute{\iota}\lambda\omicron\upsilon$ appended to the name of Eusebius should be interpreted as 'the slave of Pamphilus.' Even as late a writer as Photius seems to have understood them so. *Zahn* would account for certain weaknesses in the ecclesiastical, political, and theological attitude of the bishop by his humble origin; and in this also has the support of the Byzantine author.

FIRMICUS MATERNUS. In the twentieth volume of Migne's *Patrologia*, under the title 'Consultationum Zacchaei Christiani et Apollonii philosophi libri tres,' is a dialogue in the course of which the heathen philosopher's pride of knowledge yields to the simple grandeur of the Christian confession. *Morin* has no doubt that the writing is to be dated about the middle of the fourth century, and, on the ground of numerous parallels in language, attributes it to Firmicus Maternus, the author of the 'Mathesis,' and of the Christian writing, 'De errore profanarum religionum.' *Reatz* has tested this thesis and does not regard the authorship of Maternus as established. But he also confidently maintains that the writing originated not long after the middle of the fourth century. The emphatic rejection of Sabellianism and Photinianism, as well as the positive theology of the author, which bears throughout the stamp of the pre-Augustinian theology, seems clearly to point to this period. In regard to the importance of the writing, *Reatz* agrees with *Morin*, who recognizes in it not only a luminous presentation of the Christian faith and a model of apologetic composure and tactical skill, but also a precious monument of Christian Latinity in its early formative period. — **GELASIUS.** Gelasius, metropolitan of Caesarea, a nephew of Cyril of Alexandria, wrote a church history which, as *Glas* has proved, is the source of the last two books of Rufinus's Church History, where he is beyond the limits of Eusebius. Here also Rufinus was merely a translator.

HIERONYMUS. *Kunst* examines the Epistles of Jerome, particularly Ep. 60, 'De consolatione Heliodori,' for traces of that Father's reading in Cicero. The work is valuable. — The name *Onomastica Sacra* is given to ancient Christian collec-

tions of proper names from the Old and New Testaments, with etymological interpretations, a species of literature which the Alexandrians had taken over from Philo, and which Jerome had made accessible to the Western Church also in a trustworthy translation. *Wutz* has investigated the sources and system of these collections with marvellous industry. Above all he has reprinted the texts of these *Onomastica*, a work which *Lagarde* (1870, 2d ed. 1887) had already done for the Greek and Latin texts, but which *Wutz* has now materially enlarged by the edition of the Syriac, Armenian, Ethiopic, and Slavic collections. Exhaustive indexes are appended. That even in so carefully elaborated a work not everything is achieved that might be desired may be seen from the review by *Erich Klostermann* in *LZBl* 66 (1915), 137, and 68 (1917), 497. But for what has been accomplished the small circle of scholars who have an interest in the matter will be unanimous in their gratitude. — **HIPPOLYTUS.** *Baumstark* shows that in Hippolytus's commentary on the Song of Solomon there are traces of the extracanonical gospel used in the Ethiopic 'Testamentum domini nostri Jesu Christi,' in which he would recognize the Gospel according to the Egyptians (cf. his article in *ZNW* 14, 1913, 232-247). — In opposition to the assumption that Hippolytus was put out of the Church when his enemy Callistus ascended the episcopal throne, *Preysing* tries to prove that he remained in the communion of the Church for a time after the election of Callistus, and allowed himself to be elected as rival bishop only after Callistus had excommunicated him on the ground of ditheism. The antagonism between the two was partly due to the social separation of the adherents of Hippolytus, who according to *Preysing* belonged to the upper classes of Roman society.

IRENAEUS. The merit of *Hoh's* work on the teaching of Irenaeus concerning the New Testament lies chiefly in the complete and conveniently arranged collection of the material. The author has, however, also contributed independent observations to the discussion both of the history of the canon and of the history of doctrine. — *Lüdtke* offers text-critical notes on a sermon on the sons of Zebedee attributed to Irenaeus which was published by *Jordan* in 1913 from the Ethiopic, to-

gether with notices of Slavic and Ethiopic fragments, and finally an allusion to Irenaeus in Maximus Confessor. — ISIDORE OF PELUSIUM. The breadth and depth of Isidore's classical education has never before been investigated; consequently, insignificant as the subject is in itself, *Bayer's* industrious study fills a vacant place. It appears that Isidore's culture had narrow limits; he nowhere betrays any independent philosophical or historical interest. — JULIAN OF AECLANUM. In the third volume of the *Spicilegium Casinense*, Amelli published in 1897 a commentary on Job which in the tradition is designated as the work of the presbyter Philip, a disciple of Jerome. Vaccari in 1915 attributed this commentary to Julian. *Stiglmayr* has subjected this theory to a thorough examination, and on the ground of the formal and material differences which he has established thinks that it must be rejected. — LACTANTIUS. In support of the attribution of the 'Mortes' to Lactantius, *Koch* refers to Div. Inst. ii. 4, 16 and ii. 4, 7, where obvious points of contact with topics developed in the *Mortes* are found. In his second note Koch contends that the *templum dei* in Inst. div. 5, 2, 2 is to be understood figuratively, and not to be referred to the destruction of the church in Nicomedia, Feb. 23, 203; so that the passage does not fix the date of the Institutiones. — *Stangl* offers material contributions to the criticism of the text of all the writings of Lactantius. Notwithstanding the recognized merits of Brandt's edition in the CSEL, numerous improvements are possible and necessary. — LUCIAN OF ANTIOCH. *Loofs* proves that by the so-called 'Dedication Formula' (ἐν τοῖς ἐγκαινίοις) of the Synod of Antioch in 341 is meant the second Antiochian formula (Hahn § 154), and that in this formula, taken together with Sozomen Hist. Eccl. iii. 5, 9, the confession of the martyr Lucian is to be recognized.

MINUCIUS FELIX. The discussion of the literary character of the Dialogue of Minucius Felix and the circumstances of its composition shows no signs of coming to an end. While *Baehrens* again takes sides for a date of composition earlier than Tertullian, *Buizer* with great positiveness decides for the reign of Severus Alexander (225-230). In his view Minucius Felix does not belong at all to the Apologists of the type of

Tertullian. His book is a literary effort by which Christians are to be confirmed in their faith, and heathen incited to follow the example of Caecilius and connect themselves with the church. The model he has in mind is not so much Cicero's 'De natura deorum' as Paul's speech on the Areopagus. — *Plooij* also puts Minucius Felix before Tertullian. His article is directed against J. van Wageningen in *ThT* 96 (1912), 217. On the question whether Minucius Felix was a modernist he takes the negative side. — *NOVATIAN*. *Koch* adduces noteworthy reasons for not regarding Novatian's authorship of 'De spectaculis' and 'De bono pudicitiae.' as securely established. — *ORIGEN*. The exegetical works of ecclesiastical writers have hitherto contributed almost nothing to church history, because nobody has taken the trouble to go through them systematically in quest of significant historical notices. The recognition of this fact has led *Harnack* to make a beginning in this untouched field, and to work through the homilies and commentaries of Origen from the historical point of view. Harnack's keen observation and his great gift for extracting rich gains from seemingly unimportant matter are brilliantly evidenced in this self-denying investigation. — The chronology of the years 395–402 has been securely established by the studies of *Holl* and *Jülicher*, both of which exhibit complete mastery of the sources. The minor differences in their results are negligible. The Catena codex Vaticanus 754 (cf. *Karo-Lietzmann*, p. 41) contains sixteen prologues, five of which can be proved to Origen. Of these *Rietz* gives a critical text with explanatory notes.

PETRUS CHRYSOLOGUS. *Peters* and *Böhmer* have simultaneously devoted two excellent pieces of work to the archbishop Peter of Ravenna, whose pulpit eloquence gained him the honorific name Chrysologus. Both endeavor to give an exhaustive account of the contents of the sermons. Böhmer has in addition directed special attention to the stylistic side, and in an extensive appendix has treated at length the technic of the close of sentences (the so-called *cursus*). — *PROCLUS OF CONSTANTINOPLE*. To this opponent of Nestorius, *Bauer*, with a good knowledge of the sources, has devoted a monograph which

may well be described as a valuable contribution to the knowledge of a period of church history which scientific research has by no means exhausted. — *Schwartz* gives more than the title of his treatise indicates, namely an admirably written sketch of the situation about the year 435, unquestionably the best that we have on the subject, and in the reviewer's opinion a little gem of historical presentation. Cf. also the article by *Schwartz* noticed on p. 359. — PSEUDO-CYPRIAN. From the collection of Cyprianic writings noted above under Cyprian, *Reitzenstein* has published a hitherto unknown writing, which may with certainty be described as a sermon, although the beginning is lost. The three parts preserved treat of the three manner of fruits of the Christian life (Matt. 13, 3 ff.). The hundredfold gain (*centesima*) is assigned to the martyr, the sixtyfold (*sexagesima*) to the ascetic (*agonistes*), the thirtyfold (*tricesima*) to the ordinary Christian (*iustus*). Cyprian cannot be the author. The plainly recognizable affinity between his writings and this sermon, *Reitzenstein* would explain on the assumption of the priority of the preacher. That would make the discovery of great importance, for a Latin sermon from the age before Cyprian would be an event. Further investigation, however, in which *Harnack* (ThLZ 39, 1914, 220-223), *De Bruyne*, *Heer*, *Seeberg*, *Wohlenberg* (ThBl 36, 1915, 65-69), and others have taken part, has apparently put it beyond question that our preacher is dependent upon Cyprian. On the other hand it is not to be denied that many of his peculiarities, e.g. his Christology, have an archaic stamp. *Reitzenstein*, and still more positively *De Bruyne*, contend that the author was a Gnostic; while the other investigators emphasize on the contrary his correct churchly position. The resemblance between the biblical text employed by the preacher and the quotations from the Gospels in Justin has led *Heer* to the bold surmise that, not indeed the sermon in its present form, but its basis may be a Sunday sermon from the age of Justin. The text of the sermon, however, gives no occasion to assume that it is the revamping of an older composition. For the present it is not possible to say where and when the sermon was delivered. Africa and Spain are the most natural conjectures, and

as to the time, the whole period between about 260 and 370 is open. *De Bruyne* expresses himself the most definitely: 'Rien n'empêche qu'il y ait en quelque part en Afrique une petite église dissidente avec une Bible délibérément corrompue et des dogmes manifestement gnostiques.' For the date he would not go beyond the end of the third century. Notwithstanding the objections of his fellow investigators, *Reitzenstein* continues to hold that the writing originated either about the end of the second century, or was composed not very long after Cyprian, with the use of an older work (cf. his *Vita Antonii*, infra p. 369, 24 n. 1). — *Rauschen* takes the ground that the 'De rebaptismate' originated in the fourth century, to which period its peculiar doctrine of baptism, in particular, assigns it; while *Ernst* sees in it a document from the time of the controversy over heretical baptism in the middle of the third century.

PSEUDO-CLEMENTINE. Attention has often been called to similarities between the introductory chapter of the Clementine romance and Lucian's *Nekyomanteia*. *Boll* has now discovered similar and still plainer resemblances to an astrological writing by a certain Harpokration, a contemporary of Lucian of Samosata. The three texts are, however, independent of one another, and their resemblances are accounted for by the existence of a type of religious novel, evidently widely distributed, which Harpokration and the author of the Clementine romance appropriated, while Lucian parodied it. — It is impossible to give a survey in brief of the very complicated problems of sources which *Heintze*, carrying further the work of Waitz (TU 25, 4, 1904), endeavors to solve. In addition to the common source which Waitz recognizes as underlying the Homilies and the Recognitions, Heintze would assume another common source, the Jewish disputations with Apion, which he dates about 200. He is in all probability right in the opinion that the principal source had its origin in the third century in Syria. The evidence he adduces that the Recognitions had also a source used by Cicero deserves attention, as do also his remarks on the connections between the Christian romance and the Greek romance literature. On this point *Bousset's* work should be compared, though its main purpose is an investigation of the

much discussed Placidus legend, which does not here further concern us. On Heintze see the review by Hans Waitz, LZBl 66 (1915), 1025-1028. — QUODVULTDEUS. Morin has directed attention to bishop Quodvultdeus of Carthage (ca. 453) as a preacher in an article in *Revue Bénédictine*, 1914, and in his edition of recently discovered sermons of Augustine (see above p. 307 f.), attributing to him a number of pseudo-Augustinian sermons. *Franses* has re-examined these attributions, and been able to confirm almost all of them. To his presentation of the evidence he adds detailed proofs of the importance of these sermons for biblical learning, the history of doctrine, and liturgics. — SEVERIAN OF GABALA. The exploration of the exegetical remains of Severian has hitherto been greatly neglected. *Durks's* first endeavor is to determine the extent of these literary remains, which have come down to us in part under other names, especially Chrysostom's. In conclusion he gives a comprehensive survey of all Severian's homilies, after separating the spurious from the genuine. *Zellinger* has undertaken the detailed criticism with great circumspection. He first tests the tradition of the homilies on Genesis, with the result that all of them, including the two which Savile put among the *Dubia*, are to be ascribed to Severian, and then proceeds to give a critical view of their contents. It becomes manifest that Severian's commentary fills a gap in the exegesis of the *Hexaemeron*, inasmuch as we discover in him an Antiochian of the strictest school, whose sources have in large part been lost.

TERTULLIAN. The question of the importance of the lost Codex Fuldensis for the textual tradition of the 'Apologeticum' has provoked much discussion. In general it is agreed that its value is very high, and that, although not free from errors, the Fuldensis is throughout to be made the basis of a recension of the text. The contrary opinion of *Schrörs*, that the Vulgata is a revision by the author himself of a first draft represented by the Fuldensis, has been almost universally controverted. Nevertheless *Thörnell*, *Wohleb*, and *Löfstedt* (the latter at least in his second work) hold that the Vulgata deserves consideration by the side of the Fuldensis; while *Rauschen* in his

Emendationes has adopted the readings of the Fuldensis in much larger measure than he did in the second issue of his well known edition of the Apologeticum (Bonn, 1912). On this problem, besides the works named above, Esser's translation in the Bibliothek der Kirchenväter (see above p. 313) should be compared. Esser is here in full accord with Rauschen. It may be added here that the Belgian scholar, Waltzing, has expressed himself on the matter in his *Étude sur le cod. Fuldensis de l'Apologétique de Tertullien* (Liège-Paris 1914), and more recently in an edition of the Apologeticum (1920) has likewise made large use of the Fuldensis. — *Harnack* collects all the references in the works of Tertullian to Jewish and Christian writings used by that author, from which it appears that the number of those with which he was acquainted is very considerable, both in itself and in comparison with what was then extant. Unfortunately the wealth of Greek Christian learning and of Greek Christian books which he had at his command were after him as good as unknown in the Latin Church down to the time of Hilary and Jerome. — In an article characterized by admirable method, *Holl* has proved conclusively that the five poetical books against Marcion, erroneously attributed to Tertullian, originated in Gaul in the last quarter of the fifth century, or but little later. The dependence of the poet upon Commodian which had been observed by earlier investigators is confirmed by Holl. With Brewer he puts Commodian, however, in the fifth century, a thesis which I also regard as correct (see my remarks in Schanz [above p. 314], p. 397). — *Ackerman* has, in the opinion of the reviewer, finally settled a much discussed problem, proving by a thorough philological investigation that the second half of the book 'Adversus Judaeos' is not genuine. That I replied at length in GGA 1905, 31 ff. to Harnack's contrary opinion escaped Ackerman's notice, but his demonstration has not suffered from this oversight. He might, however, have noted in addition that in chap. 13, Daniel is quoted in the version of Theodotion, but in chap. 14 (=Adv. Marc. 3, 7) from the Septuagint. With a notice of this excellent work by a Swedish scholar the patristic part of our survey may close.

4. CHURCH LIFE

a. *The Creed*

Harnack, Adolf von, Zur Abhandlung des Hr. Holl "Zur Auslegung" u. s. w. [vide Holl]. (SAB 1919, vii, 112-116). — *Haussleiter, Johannes*, Trinitarischer Glaube und Christusbekenntnis in der alten Kirche (BFTh 25, 4). 124 pp. Gütersloh, Bertelsmann, 1920. M. 17, 50. — *Holl, Karl*, Zur Auslegung des 2. Artikels des sogenannten apostolischen Glaubensbekenntnisses. (SAB 1919, I, 1-11). — *Lietzmann, Hans*, Die Urform des apostolischen Glaubensbekenntnisses. (SAB 1919, xii, 269-274). — *Peitz, Wilhelm M., S. J.*, Das Glaubensbekenntnis der Apostel (StZ 94, 1918, 553-566). — *Thieme, Karl*, Das apostolische Glaubensbekenntnis. (Wissenschaft und Bildung 129). 144 pp. Leipzig, Quelle und Meyer, 1914. M. 1, 25.

Our knowledge of the conditions under which the creed of the ancient church was formed has been materially advanced by a number of excellent works. Among these *Haussleiter's* book is to be named in the first place, and it is the welcome duty of the reviewer to direct the special attention of scholars to it. The methodical fault of previous investigation, as *Haussleiter* points out, was the ever recurring attempt to derive the whole great body of baptismal symbols from one single primitive formula. In fact two types must be distinguished. The older type, which originally prevailed in Rome as well as elsewhere, is characterized by its division into two distinct parts: a very brief trinitarian confession derived from the command to baptize converts (Matt. 28, 19), and a longer confession of faith having its source in the Kerygma about Christ, which was taken as the basis of the second article. The younger type grew out of the older by the introduction of the extended confession of Christ into the trinitarian scheme. In this way the old Roman Symbol and its derivative formulas, as well as the Nicene-Constantinopolitan creed, the Textus Receptus of the Apostles' Creed, etc., arose. The older type, however, did not cease to maintain itself and to develop new forms. Its influence is visible in the structure of the Athanasian Symbol, and in a long series of Oriental baptismal confessions and private creeds. *Haussleiter* finds the point of departure for his demonstration in the detached position of the trinitarian formula and the confession of Christ in certain formulas of the Liber Diurnus, that is, in the official book of the Papal chancellery, which, follow-

ing *Peitz* (see below p. 363 f.), he dates considerably earlier than experts have hitherto done. The choice of this starting-point may seem to be somewhat incautious, inasmuch as the question about the *Liber Diurnus* can by no means be regarded as definitively settled; but in any event *Haussleiter's* other evidence for the origin and wide distribution of the older type in the earliest age of the church is very noteworthy. Thus the peculiarity of what seems to be the first union of the separate parts in *Irenaeus* also appears in its true significance. Strikingly novel is the theory, intimated by *Peitz* and carefully built up by *Haussleiter*, that the fixed formulation of the old Roman Symbol came about in the course of the Monarchian controversies under the Roman bishop *Zephyrinus* (199–217). All this naturally demands re-examination, a task which is made easier by *Haussleiter's* lucid, methodical exposition.

In a study which has attracted much attention *Holl* endeavors to find a key to the construction of the second article. He sees in it an artistic structure. The two titles (τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν μονογενῆ and τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν) are followed by two clauses corresponding respectively to the two titles. In support of this view he makes connection with Luke 1, 35 and Phil. 2, 6 ff., and points to the *διό* in both passages, which in the one introduces the argument for the divine sonship, in the other that for Christ's lordship (*κυριότης*). *Harnack* supplements this observation by showing that it can be naturally applied to the other articles and constructs the following scheme:

$$\begin{array}{lcl}
 \text{Πιστεύω εἰς (1) Θεὸν} & = & \text{(2) Πατέρα} & = & \text{(3) Παντοκράτορα} \\
 \text{καὶ εἰς (4) χριστὸν} & \left. \vphantom{\begin{array}{c} \text{καὶ εἰς (4) χριστὸν} \\ \text{'Ιησοῦν} \end{array}} \right\} & = & \left. \vphantom{\begin{array}{c} \text{(5) τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ} \\ \text{τὸν μονογενῆ} \end{array}} \right\} & = & \text{(6) τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν} \\
 & \text{'Ιησοῦν} & & \text{τὸν μονογενῆ} & & \\
 \text{καὶ εἰς (7) πνεῦμα} & \left. \vphantom{\begin{array}{c} \text{καὶ εἰς (7) πνεῦμα} \\ \text{ἅγιον} \end{array}} \right\} & = & \left. \vphantom{\begin{array}{c} \text{(8) ἁγίαν} \\ \text{ἐκκλησίαν} \end{array}} \right\} & = & \text{(9) ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν} \\
 & \text{ἅγιον} & & \text{ἐκκλησίαν} & & \text{σαρκὸς ἀνάστασιν}
 \end{array}$$

He tries to bring these members into relation with one another not only horizontally but vertically. This may all seem to be a kind of play, but the observations which underlie it have wide scope and are perhaps not without weight. For the evidence of this *Harnack's* article itself must be consulted. The lack of symmetry in the bifurcation of article nine is obvious at first

sight. *Lietzmann* somewhat relieves this difficulty by pointing out that the creed which is preserved as a part of the Egyptian liturgy in the papyrus from Dêr-Balyzeh (see Puniet in RB 26, 1909, 34, and Schermann, TU 36, 1b, 1910) has in fact a nine-fold division, the *ἄφεσις ἀμαρτιῶν* is lacking. — *Thieme* came too soon to make use in his résumé of the works above described, but anyone who desires to inform himself about the stage which the investigation had reached in 1914, and to follow the history of the Apostles' Creed down to the present time under the guidance of an expert will learn much from his well-considered and unprejudiced presentation.

b. Liturgical Problems

Bousset, Wilhelm, Eine jüdische Gebetssammlung im siebenten Buch der apostolischen Konstitutionen. (NGW 1915, 435-489); Zur Deprecatio Gelasii. (NGW 1916, 135-168). — *Dölger, Franz Joseph*, Die Sonne der Gerechtigkeit und der Schwarze. (LF 2). xii, 150 pp. mit einer Tafel. Münster i. W., Aschendorff, 1918. M. 8; Sol Salutis. Gebet und Gesang im christlichen Altertum. (LF 4. 5). xii, 342 pp. Ebd., 1920. M. 25. — *Dold, Alban*, Ein vorhadrianisches Gregorianisches Palimpsest-Sakramentar in Gold-Uncialschrift. (Texte und Arbeiten 1, 5). viii, 79 pp. mit einem Lichtdruck. Nebst Zugabe einer unbekannten Homilie über das kanaänäische Weib. Beuron, Kunstverlag der Erzabtei, 1919. M. 5. — *Koch, Hugo*, Zur Agapenfrage (ZNW 16, 1915, 139-146). — *Lietzmann, Hans*, Die liturgischen Angaben des Plinius. (Studien für Hauck [vide supra p. 288], 34-38; cf. also RhM 71, 1916, 281-282). — *Mohlberg, Kunibert*, Ziele und Aufgaben der liturgischen Forschung. (LF 1). viii, 52 pp. Münster i. W., Aschendorff, 1919. M. 4, 20; Das fränkische Sacramentarium Gelasianum in alamannischer Ueberlieferung (LQ 1. 2). civ, 292 pp. mit zwei Tafeln. Ebd., 1918. M. 15. — *Plum, N. M.*, Forsagelsen ved Daaben. 316 pp. Kopenhagen, Gad, 1920. — *Rauschen, Gerhard*, Florilegium patristicum. vii. Monumenta eucharistica et liturgica vetustissima. Edit. 2, iv, 181 pp. Bonn, Hanstein, 1914. M. 3, 80. — *Schermann, Theodor*, Die allgemeine Kirchenordnung, frühchristliche Liturgien und altkirchliche Ueberlieferung. (StGKA, 3. Ergänzungsband). 3 Teile. viii, x, viii, und 750 pp. 1. Die allgemeine Kirchenordnung des zweiten Jahrhunderts. viii, 136 pp. 2. Frühchristliche Liturgien. xii, 438 pp. 3. Die kirchliche Ueberlieferung. viii, 176 pp. Paderborn, Schöningh, 1914-1916. M. 6, 18 und 8, 40; Frühchristliche Vorbereitungsgebete zur Taufe (Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung, hrsg. von Leopold Wenger 3). vi, 32 pp. München, Beck, 1917. M. 1, 60.

Under this head we have in the first place to direct attention to a new undertaking which seems to be destined substantially to widen and deepen our knowledge of the ancient liturgy of

the Church. The Benedictine abbeys of Beuron, Emaus-Prague, St. Joseph-Coesfeld, Maria Laach, and Seckau, have joined forces for the publication of *Liturgiegeschichtliche Quellen* and *Liturgiegeschichtliche Forschungen*, the editing of which has been committed to three well-known scholars, Professors Dölger in Münster, Rücker in Breslau, and Father Mohlberg of the abbey of Maria Laach. The two series are to constitute an 'Archiv der liturgiegeschichtlichen Forschung,' and by detailed investigations on the broadest basis are meant to subserve a progressive definition of the lines of development of Christian worship and the texts connected with it. Minor contributions are to be brought together in a *Jahrbuch für Liturgiewissenschaft*, which is also to furnish critical accounts of discoveries and new publications in the field of liturgical science. In the first number of the 'Forschungen,' Mohlberg defines the aims and tasks of this science clearly and with abundant bibliographical references.

The investigations are admirably inaugurated by the two works of Dölger, whose name is widely known through his writings on Exorcism, on Sphragis, and on Ichthys. In the course of his studies he has come to recognize more and more fully the immense importance of the religious conflict in the fourth century which is expressed in the words, Solar religion and Christianity. In this way he was brought to confront the problem of orientation (facing eastward) both in the plan of the basilica and in the attitude of prayer; and subsidiary to this, the westward position in the renunciation of the devil ('the black one') and the eastward position in the addiction to Christ ('the Sun of Righteousness, Sun of Salvation'). It is impossible in a brief notice like this to give any adequate notion of the brilliant light, both from the general history of civilization and from the history of religion, into which Dölger has brought his problem. An extended critical review by a specialist would be most appropriate, and could count with certainty upon the interest of a large circle of readers. Dölger describes the work whose title stands first above as a 'Studie zum Taufgelöbnis,' and is particularly occupied with the symbolism of the rites connected with baptism. With this he discusses also

the idea of a compact with the devil and of the oath of fidelity (*sacramentum*) to Christ taken in baptism. On this point Dölger is inclined to refer to the baptismal rites the allusions to the ritual in Pliny's letter to Trajan, as *Lietzmann* also does; but, unlike *Lietzmann*, he understands by the *carmen* not the baptismal symbol alone, but, in accordance with ancient linguistic use (*Livy* x, 38), the whole oath of fidelity to Christ. The eastward position in prayer gives him occasion for very profitable remarks on important constituents of the liturgical prayers, such for example as the Kyrie Eleison. The studies already published do not exhaust the subject. They are to be completed on the archaeological side by a discussion of the orientation of ancient basilicas, and on the side of the history of religion and of the liturgy by studies of the vigil of Easter in its relation to ancient pagan Pannychis.

The series of 'Quellen' is opened by *Mohlberg* with an excellent edition of the Frankish Sacramentarium Gelasianum from Codex Sangallensis 348. The introduction exhibits the history of the textual grouping of manuscripts of the Roman sacramentaries, in particular the Frankish recension of the Gelasianum. The original sacramentary of Codex 348 is dated by him about 800. Corrections in the text and marginal notes indicate that the manuscript is a transitional form between the Gregorian Gelasianum and the reform of Alcuin. — It would be a point of importance if *Dold* were right in his contention that a palimpsest fragment from Mainz, which he has published, contained a pre-Hadrianic sacramentary, for which he claims an English origin. Against so early a date, *Mohlberg*, in *ThR* 18 (1919), 210–213 (cf. 328 f.), has raised emphatic and, as it appears, well-grounded objection; but he does not dispute the fact that the new text has an especial value as a remnant of one of the finest and best Gregoriana of the Carolingian period. It may be further noted here that *Lietzmann* expects to publish in the current year (1921) in *LQ*, Codex 164 (159) from Cambridge, that is to say, the principal witness to the Carolingian Sacramentarium Gregorianum, from a photographic reproduction made during the war and turned over to the University of Jena.

As the titles of the several parts given above show, the extensive work of *Schermann* might with equal propriety have been included in the literature of ecclesiastical law. It is noticed here, however, because the parts which deal with the history of the liturgy seem on the whole to be of the greater importance. In the first part Schermann gives critical editions of the 'Apostolische Kirchenordnung' and of the so-called 'Aegyptische Kirchenordnung,' in which two documents he would recognize the book of Church Order generally accepted at as early a time as the second century. Indeed he asserts, and in the third part endeavors to prove, that this Church Order, in the production and redaction of which Rome had the principal part, originated at the beginning of the second century, if not even in the first. The relation long ago observed between the Apostolic Church Order and the Epistle of Barnabas he explains by the fact that they had the same author, or perhaps that the Church Order was in the hands of the author of the Epistle (!). Furthermore, he regards the postulated general Church Order as the middle section of a παράδοσις ἐκκλησιαστικῇ or κήρυγμα ἐκκλησιαστικόν, which had already been fixed in writing at the beginning of the second century; a work which served as a normative basis both for the early catechetical instruction of the church and for its theological literature. Besides this middle section, it contained, as the first part, a series of events from the life of Jesus connected with words of the Lord, and, as its third part, that compendium of the Christian faith which is called by ecclesiastical writers κανὼν τῆς ἀληθείας or πίστewς, in Latin *regula fidei*. That would certainly be a surprisingly simple solution of the difficulties over which the learned have repeatedly wearied themselves. Unfortunately the thesis, in spite of all the industry expended upon it and the author's comprehensive knowledge of the sources and of the literature, rests upon a wholly unstable foundation; for the existence, in writing, of such a tradition of the primitive church as early as the age immediately following the Apostles, is in the end only assumed, without any serious proof whatever. The real value of Schermann's work lies in bringing together the whole material, with constant reference to the critical con-

troversy. This is especially true of the second part, which treats in five sections of Church Organization, Baptism, Penitence, the Eucharistic Liturgy, and the Ministry of the Word of God. Excellent indexes increase the usefulness of the book, which notwithstanding all objections which may be raised to the principal thesis, will be found by the critical reader a welcome addition to his apparatus. — In his smaller work *Schermann* has reprinted the prayers, first published in the 'Neutestamentliche Studien' für Heinrici (Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1914), from the Berlin papyrus 13415; and has furnished them with ample parallels from early Christian literature. He thinks that they are to be regarded as prayers preparatory to baptism, and in this he is perhaps right; but his attempt to assign them to the second century is unsuccessful, for precisely those turns of expression which are characteristic of them seem to point to a later time.

Bousset believes himself to have proved that the whole collection of prayers in the Apostolic Constitutions vii. 33-38 are borrowed from the synagogue, and present a Jewish collection only slightly modified by Christian hands. In the eighth book, also, he believes it demonstrable that Jewish prayers and formulas of prayer have been worked in. In the so-called 'Deprecatio Papae Gelasii' in Cod. Paris. 1153 (cf. W. Meyer, NGW 1912, 87), he sees a collection of general intercessions and evening and morning petitions such as the Constitutions prescribe for the daily services, and inquires further by what route these prescriptions for prayer may have migrated into the West. — *Plum* makes a careful investigation of the whole history of the Abrenuntiatio. He is of the opinion that in the original conception (Tertullian) the renunciation meant only a rejection of idolatry, and accordingly belonged to baptism within the church; he observes, however, also that already in Cyprian another conception is present, namely the assumption of moral obligation. [Professor Ammundsen.]

c. *Feasts and Fasts*

Corssen, Peter, Das Osterfest (NJkLA 39, 1917, 170-189). — *Fischer, Ludwig*, Die kirchlichen Quatember (VKSM 4, 3). xii, 278 pp. München, Lentner, 1914. M. 6, 20. — *Holl, Karl*, Der Ursprung des Epiphaniensfestes. (SAB 1917, xxix, 402-438). Berlin, Reimer, 1918. M. 2. — *Koch, Hugo*, Pascha in der ältesten Kirche (ZwTh 55, 1914, 289-313). — *Nilsson, Martin P.*, Studien zur Vorgeschichte des Weihnachtsfestes (AR 19, 1917, 50-150).

Before proceeding to the review of the works named above, attention may be directed to the comprehensive investigation which Karl Schmidt, in one of the excursuses to his edition of the *Epistula Apostolorum* (see the article by Professor Lake in the January number of this Review, pp. 15-29) has devoted to the Paschal controversies of the second century. The occasion for this investigation was the fact that the *Epistola* is a new witness to what is known as the Quartodeciman Paschal festival, because it was held on the 14th of Nisan in commemoration of the death of Jesus. This testimony retains its importance even if Schmidt's opinion that the *Epistle* originated in circles of Quartodeciman observance in Asia Minor should not prevail. For it is definitely established by the *Epistola* that the festival was kept in commemoration of the death of Jesus, and a controversial issue which was perpetually renewed among scholars seems therewith to be finally disposed of. *Koch's* discussion, so far as it has to do with this particular question, is antiquated by this new evidence; but what he has to say about Easter and Pentecost in Tertullian retains its value. — *Corssen* directs attention not so much to the Paschal controversies as to the origin of the festival of the Roman Church, the Easter festival, in contrast to the Paschal festival. He is of the opinion that the former was created by a deliberate action of the church, probably in Rome, and very likely in the sequel of the negotiations between Anicetus and Polycarp, which brought to maturity the decision on the part of the Romans to signalize in an especial manner the first Sunday after the Jewish Passover as a festival Sunday. He is struck by certain parallels between the Christian celebration and the Attis festival, which had before this time grown into a popular festi-

val, and in which the lamentation for the death of the god changed into the rejoicing of the Hilaria on the twenty-fifth of March. If Corssen means to infer from this that the festival of the Roman Church was introduced to compete with a heathen festival, he may not find it easy to adduce evidence, however strongly the analogy of both Christmas and Epiphany may seem to suggest it.

For Epiphany, *Holl*, in a model investigation, has made it at least highly probable that this festival was a Christian substitute for a festival kept in Egypt on the 6th of January in honor of a god Aion, more particularly of his birth from a virgin. With this festival was connected a ceremonial drawing of water from the Nile; and a further belief that the Nile water changed into wine is attested. In this way an explanation would be found of the fact that the church, following the lead of the Basilidians, before the setting off of the Christmas festival, celebrated on the sixth of January, along with the birth of the Son of God, the hallowing of the water by his baptism, and the miraculous transformation of the elements at the marriage in Cana. In the Greek church the baptism of Jesus later completely crowded out the other motives. In the West, Pope Liberius (352) still kept Epiphany as the festival of the birth of Christ, and at the same time of the marriage in Cana, and of the miraculous feeding of the multitudes. The detachment of Christmas as a festival of Jesus' birth signified at the same time opposition to taking the sixth of January as the commemoration of his baptism. In its stead, the adoration of the Magi became dominant. On *Holl's* article cf. *O. Weinreich AR 19 (1918), 174-190* and *F. Boll, ibid., 190 f.* — *Nilsson*, in the first part of his study gives a sketch of the development of the Roman festival of the Kalends of January, and in the second part, in opposition to the works of *Tille* and *Bilfinger*, discusses the question whether Christmas customs were influenced on the one side by the Roman New Year's customs, and on the other by the nordic Yule festival.

Against *Morin*, who sees in the introduction of the four Ember Days a substitute for the pagan *feriae messis, vindemiales*, and *sementinae*, *Fischer* would explain their origin

from the ancient Christian conception of fasting as a *statio*, i.e. as a means to combat the *saeculum*; an explanation which seems to be favored by the great rôle which vigils play in the Quatember liturgy. Fischer regards as trustworthy the notice in the Liber Pontificalis that Pope Callistus introduced the Ember days. The idea of festivals of thanksgiving for the harvest was, he thinks, first connected with them after the time of Leo the Great. The major part of this useful work is devoted to the liturgy of the Ember Days, to the legal character of these days, and to their significance from religious and moral, civil and social, and mythological points of view.

d. *Archaeology and Art*

Achelis, Hans, Altchristliche Kunst (ZNW 16, 1915, 1-23. 17, 1916, 81-107). — *Achelis, Hans*, Der Entwicklungsgang der altchristlichen Kunst. 47 pp. Leipzig, Quelle und Meyer, 1919. M. 2. — *Harnack, Adolf von*, Die älteste griechische Kircheninschrift. (SAB 1915, xliii, 746-766). Berlin, Reimer, 1915. M. 1. — *Kaufmann, Carl Maria*, Handbuch der altchristlichen Epigraphik. xvi, 514 pp. mit 254 Abbildungen sowie 10 schriftvergleichenden Tafeln. Freiburg, Herder, 1917. M. 18; geb. M. 20. — *Kaufmann, Carl Maria*, Die heilige Stadt der Wüste. Unsere Entdeckungen, Grabungen und Funde in der altchristlichen Menasstadt. ix, 218 pp. mit 190 Abbildungen. Kempten, Kösel, 1919. M. 15; geb. M. 18. — *Koch, Hugo*, Die altchristliche Bilderfrage nach den literarischen Quellen. (FRLANT, Neue Folge, 10). iv, 105 pp. Göttingen, Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1917. M. 4, 80. — *Lietzmann, Hans*, Petrus und Paulus in Rom. Liturgische und archaeologische Studien. xii, 189 pp. mit 6 Plänen. Bonn, Marcus und Weber, 1915. M. 6, 80. — *Pfeilschifter, Georg*, Oxyrhynchos. Seine Kirchen und Kloster auf Grund der Papyrusfunde. (Festgabe Knöpfler [vide supra p. 287], 248-264). — *Schrijnen, Josef*, De ontwikkeling der boetetucht in het licht der oud-christelijke kunst (De Beiaard 1916, 253-259; 1917, 201-210; [vide supra p. 295]). — *Schultze, Viktor*, Grundriss der christlichen Archaeologie. viii, 159 pp. mit Titelbild. München, Beck, 1919. M. 5. — *Smit, E. L.*, De Oud-Christelijke Monumenten van Spanje. Met 2 Kaarten en 11 afbeeldingen. (Diss. Leiden). 158 pp. 's Gravenhage, Nijhoff, 1916. fl. 4, 75. — *Stuhlfauth, Georg*, Die "ältesten Porträts" Christi und der Apostel. 26 pp. mit zwei Abbildungen. Berlin, Huttenverlag, 1918. M. 1. 90. — *Sybel, Ludwig von*, Auferstehungshoffnung in der frühchristlichen Kunst? (ZNW 15, 1914, 254-267). — *Sybel, Ludwig von*, Frühchristliche Kunst. iv, 55 pp. mit Titelbild. München, Beck, 1920. M. 4, 50. — *Waal, Anton de*, Die jüngsten Ausgrabungen in der Basilika des hl. Sebastian zu Rom (Kath. 95, 1, 1915, 395-411).

Kaufmann, who is most favorably known by his 'Handbuch der Christlichen Archäologie,' and by the excavation of

the city of Menas conducted under his direction, has now given us the first handbook of early Christian epigraphy worthy of the name. The labor involved may be judged from the fact that the number of monumental inscriptions now known exceeds 4900. Of these Kaufmann has employed for his text 2000, and has reproduced 700 by cuts or in type facsimile. He has not confined himself to the Roman and Occidental sources which hitherto have been almost exclusively utilized, but has drawn also upon inscriptions from regions of Greek speech and from the Near East. After introductory paragraphs on the conception and task of such a work, the sources and literature, the author treats of the external phenomena, the alphabets, language, and the dating of the inscriptions. This is followed by: 1. Sepulchral inscriptions, selected texts illustrating secular and social life, doctrinal texts, inscriptions bearing on the history of the church and hierarchy; 2. the graffiti; 3. documentary inscriptions; 4. inscriptions referring to the erection of buildings. In special sections are treated the inscriptions of Pope Damasus, and the later historical inscriptions (eulogies of martyrs, titles of buildings from the Roman catacombs, titles of basilicas). An appendix contains an ample apparatus of tables (forms of the inscriptional characters for purposes of comparison, the Julian calendar, chronological tables). Exhaustive indexes facilitate the use of the well-arranged and well-written book. With such an abundance of material, and in a first attempt, all sorts of errors are inevitable. Searching critical reviews (e.g. J. Wittig, *ThRev* 17, 1918, 389-392; W. Larfeld, *Byzantinisch-neugriechische Jahrbücher* 1, 1920, 208 ff.; R. Herzog, *HZ* 122, 1920, 301-304) have indeed convicted the author of many sins of omission that might easily have been avoided, and have even charged him with being lacking in the necessary accuracy. These shortcomings should not cast into the shade the good features of a handbook which in the opinion of the reviewer is — until we have a better one — indispensable.

Inasmuch as there are in English no comprehensive treatises on Christian archaeology of any scientific value, *Schultze's* outline should be able to count on a favorable reception, and it would be well deserved, for the little volume is both in form

and contents simply admirable. What Schultze here offers is the well-pondered result of forty years of scientific occupation with the subject; and scholars who are acquainted with the field will not fail to observe that upon almost all important points he has endeavored to carry research deeper or farther afield. But the layman in the subject will also find his account in it, since Schultze has had in mind especially the use of the book by his student hearers. Great attention has also been given to externals, especially in the references to the literature. A translation into English would be well worth while. — The somewhat more advanced student will read *von Sybel's* 'Leitfaden' also with profit. Few scholars have promoted investigation in this field by independent work in a degree comparable to von Sybel, and in this volume he writes, as in a survey from some mountain peak, the history of the development of early Christian art from its beginning under the Flavian emperors down to Theodosius. The epochs of this history as he maps them out are: the period before Hadrian, from the Antonines to Valerian, from Gallienus to Constantine, from Constantine to Theodosius. The treatment is very concise, and everywhere shows the hand of the master who has his material in complete command. The article in ZNW is devoted to the establishment by detailed proof of a thesis for which von Sybel contended in his well-known work, 'Die christliche Antike,' namely that early Christian art, and especially the paintings in the catacombs, are not, as Victor Schultze and after him Hans Achelis maintain, inspired by the thought of a future resurrection of the flesh, but are to be understood in the light of the idea of the present blessedness of the dead in paradise.

In an investigation that is a model of method, *Smit* has collected and turned to historical account the archaeological material for Christianity in Spain. To the 426 inscriptions previously known he adds seven hitherto unpublished. Besides the inscriptions, the sarcophagi, which range from the fourth (third?) to the seventh century, are discussed. The inscriptions are chiefly from the Visigothic period; twenty-two are of the fourth century or earlier. Smit seeks the origin of Spanish Christianity in Rome, though North Africa may have been the

intermediate station. In any case, Christianity had a very independent development on Spanish soil. The general designation of Christians on the Spanish monuments is *Famulus Dei*. Not as much as one per cent of the Christian inscriptions are from soldiers, against six per cent among the non-Christian inscriptions. The inscriptions yield valuable testimony in regard to Christology, penance, and the like. The formulas warning off violators of tombs, Smit derives from the primitive belief in the resurrection of the flesh. In the consciousness of these Christians the material burial *ad sanctos* and the spiritual eternal life with the saints in Paradise are still undistinguished. Bakhuizen van den Brink, to whom the above notice is due, describes the volume as a very valuable contribution to Christian archaeology.

In ZNW *Achelís* has brought to completion the series of articles which he began in 1911–1913. The leading ideas are repeated in the admirable address delivered by him when he entered upon his professorship of church history in Leipzig. The prominent thing in it is the development of the cycle of early Christian pictures, in which he gives more consideration than archaeologists are in the habit of doing to points of view taken from the history of the church. Thus, for example, he brings a group of pictures in which the idea of the forgiveness of sins seems to be manifest (Good Shepherd, Peter's denial) into connection with the controversies in the Roman Church about repentance. Here it may be questioned whether he has not allowed himself to construe too freely (see also below, p. 354, Schrijnen). Again, in making the epoch of Constantine, which is so important in church history, a main division in the development of Christian art also, and in consequence sharply separating the period of the catacomb paintings from that of the sarcophagi and mosaics, Achelis will hardly be followed by the archaeologists. See the adverse criticism on this point by G. Stuhlfauth, ThLZ 45 (1920), 248–250. — Since Ludwig von Sybel defined early Christian art as ancient art, archaeologists have frequently repeated that what is Christian in this art lies solely in the subjects, not in the artistic technic or style — in the content, that is, not in the form. *Jordan* doubts the

correctness of this proposition, and contends that early Christian art, compared with the antique, contains new stylistic elements also.

In other respects also the theories of the archaeologists seem to church historians to demand reconsideration. Above all, when it is a question of dating or making use of the monuments of Christian art, the historian notes that insufficient attention is given to the literary sources. Thus, the rich discoveries of decorative painting in the catacombs have obscured the fact that the patristic writers of the first centuries unanimously testify that the Christians rejected art on principle. *Koch* proves this by an examination of the witnesses from Tertullian to Epiphanius (see above p. 332, under Holl). He also reminds us that Spanish (Council of Elvira), African, or Oriental deliverances are not to be interpreted out of the way and disposed of by a glance at the Roman catacombs. The Roman Church seems to have been the least conservative of all, and more ready than any other to adapt itself to new conditions and to respond to the currents of the times.—*Schrijnen*, like Achelis (see above), brings the picture of the Good Shepherd into connection with the controversy over the stricter or laxer penitential practice. The Good Shepherd brings the soul upon his shoulders into the communion of the saints. Down to the time of Callistus, however (see below p. 365f., under Esser, and Koch), the saints were always the true believers who had kept unstained the garments of baptismal grace. The picture is therefore not to be referred exclusively to the other life, but also to the church on earth. Consequently it signifies either a last appeal to the mercy of God after death, or a protest against the Montanistic contention that the church has no power to remove sin in a second repentance. *Schrijnen* hardly pays any attention to the natural objection, supported by the dates assigned by the archaeologists to these paintings, that the oldest frescos of the Good Shepherd carry us back to the second century, that is to a time antecedent to the controversies about repentance. On the other side it is naturally not to be questioned that during these controversies the picture actually served to express the hope of the *lapsi*. The article contains

many other interesting combinations and may therefore be commended to the attention of archaeologists and church historians. [Bakhuizen van den Brink.]

George La Piana has dealt at length in this review (January 1921, p. 53-94) with *Lietzmann's* valuable studies on the tombs of the Apostles Peter and Paul, and has cited the rest of the literature (p. 87). I have therefore only to refer here to *de Waal's* article. — In the course of excavations at Antioch in Syria in 1910 a silver chalice was found with representations of Christ and the Apostles, which is now in New York. Gustavus A. Eisen asserted (1916) that the chalice dates from the first century, and that it is to be assumed that it gives us portrait likenesses of the persons represented. *Stuhlfauth* refutes this rash assertion, and shows that the chalice is to be assigned to the fifth century at the earliest. — In Volume 11 of the *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* (1915) a papyrus was published which contains a list of *συνάξεις*, i.e. gatherings for worship, which, like the Roman-Latin *Stationes*, were held annually at fixed times (Saints Days) in certain churches, the bishop being present. It is thus a kind of calendar, which is unfortunately preserved for only about half a year. It was drawn up about the year 535. *Pfeilschifter* makes use of it only to determine the number of church buildings in Oxyrhynchus. The list for the half-year shows 26 churches (possibly 28), so that a total of 40 would not seem to be too high. This would indicate that the needs of the church were well supplied, and that there was an active religious life in the Egyptian cities. In the course of his study *Pfeilschifter* adduces from the papyri other material referring to the churches and monasteries named in the list. — *Harnack* examines from all sides the inscription (Le Bas et Waddington 3, 1 No. 2558; 3, 2 p. 582) of the year 318-319 found in Deir-Ali near Damascus, which once adorned a *συναγωγή Μαρκωνιστῶν*.

In a handsome publication intended for general readers *Kaufmann* presents the results of his excavations in the year 1905. He was fortunate enough at that time to bring to light the famous, but till then wholly lost, sanctuary of St. Menas, in the Lybian desert south of Alexandria, an extensive monument

of civilization in the fifth century. His scientific reports on the excavations from the years 1906–1908, and his great publication on the principal basilica (1910), are well known to scholars. The new popular presentation gives a survey of the whole, in which the reader is skilfully and entertainingly made acquainted with the ruins. An introduction on the legend of Menas and the history of the sanctuary is prefixed. The volume is adorned by an abundance of photographic views excellently reproduced. (This notice follows a review by H. Lietzmann, *ThLZ* 45, 1920, 150.) The volume is at present out of print; the appearance of a new edition, which the publisher promises, is not likely to be in the immediate future.

e. Organization

GENERAL. *Goeller, Emil*, Die Bischofswahl bei Origenes. (Ehrengabe für Johann Georg von Sachsen [vide supra p. 287], 603–616). — *Koch, Hugo*, Zur klerikalen Laufbahn im Altertum (*ZNW* 17, 1916, 78–79); Zur Geschichte des monarchischen Episkopats (ebd. 19, 1919/20, 81–85). — *Metzner, E.*, Die Verfassung der Kirche in den zwei ersten Jahrhunderten unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Schriften Harnacks. vii, 248 pp. Danzig, Westpreussischer Verlag, 1919. M. 10; geb. M. 12. — *Moe, Oskar*, Det monarchiske Episcopats Oprindelse [Origin]. 211 pp. Kristiania, Lutherstiftelsen, 1917. COUNCILS. Acta conciliorum oecumenicorum, iussu atque mandato Societatis scientiarum Argentoratensis edidit *Eduardus Schwartz*. Tomus III: Concilium universale Constantinopolitanum sub Justiniano habitum. Vol. II: *Johannis Maxentii* libelli. Collectio codicis Novariensis XXX. Collectio codicis Parisini 1682. Procli tomus ad Armenios. *Johannis papae II* epistula ad viros illustres. 6, xxxii, 210 pp. 4°. Strassburg, Trübner, 1914. M. 30. — Neue Aktenstücke zum ephesinischen Konzil von 431, herausgegeben von *Eduard Schwartz*. (*AAM* 30, 8). 121 pp. München, Franz, 1920. M. 20. — *Flemming, Johannes*, Akten der ephesinischen Synode von 449. Syrisch mit *Georg Hoffmanns* deutscher Uebersetzung und seinen Anmerkungen herausgeben. (*AGW* 15, 1). vii, 188 pp. Berlin, Weidmann, 1917. M. 18. — *Haase, Felix*, Die koptischen Quellen zum Konzil von Nicaea. (*StGKA* 10, 4). vii, 124 pp. Paderborn, Schöningh, 1920. M. 14. — *Heckrodt, Ella*, Die Kanones von Sardika aus der Kirchengeschichte erläutert. (Diss. Jena.) x, 128 pp. Bonn, Marcus und Weber, 1917. M. 3. — *Koch, Hugo*, Die Zeit des Konzils von Elvira (*ZNW* 17, 1916, 61–67). — *Schwartz, Eduard*, Zur Vorgeschichte des ephesinischen Konzils (*HZ* 114, 1914, 237–263).

THE ROMAN CHURCH AND THE PAPACY. *Bruining, A.*, De Roomsche kerk en Augustinus (*NThT* 4, 1915, 97–122). — *Esser, Gerhard*, Das Irenaeuszeugnis für den Primat der römischen Kirche (*Kath.* 97, 1, 1917, 289–315; 2, 16–34). — *Harnack, Adolf von*, Zur Geschichte der Anfänge der inneren Organisation der stadtrömischen Kirche. (*SAB* 1918, xliii, 954–987). Berlin,

Reimer, 1918. M. 2. — *Kirsch, Johann Peter*, Die römischen Titelkirchen im Altertum (StGKA 9, 1, 2). x, 224 pp. Paderborn, Schöningh, 1918. M. 10. — *Koch, Hugo*, Zum Lebensgange Kallists (ZNW 17, 1916, 211 sq.); Petrus und Paulus im zweiten Osterfeststreit? (ZNW 19, 1919/20, 174–179). — *Peitz, Wilhelm M.*, Aus dem Geheimarchiv der Weltkirche (StZ 94, 1917, 280–290); Das Register Gregors I (Ergänzungshefte zu den StZ 2, 2). xvi, 222 pp. Freiburg, Herder, 1917. M. 11; Liber Diurnus, Beiträge zur Kenntnis der ältesten päpstlichen Kanzlei vor Gregor dem Grossen. I. Ueberlieferung des Kanzleibuches und sein vorgregorianischer Ursprung. (SAW 185, 1918, 4). 144 pp. Wien, Holder, 1918; Neue Aufschlüsse über den Liber Diurnus, das Vorlagenbuch der mittelalterlichen Papstkanzlei (StZ 94, 1918, 486–496); Martin I und Maximus Confessor. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Monotheletenstreites in den Jahren 645–668 (HJG 38, 1917, 213–236). — *Preysing, Konrad Graf*, Zwei offizielle Entscheidungen des römischen Stuhles um die Wende des 2. Jahrhunderts (ZkTh 41, 1917, 595–597). — *Rauschen, Gerhard*, Florilegium patristicum ix: Textus antenicaeni ad primum romanum spectantes. vi, 60 pp. Bonn, Hanstein, 1914. M. 1, 40; kart. M. 1, 60. — *Silva-Tarouca, Karl*, Beiträge zur Ueberlieferungsgeschichte der Papstbriefe des 4.–6. Jahrhunderts (ZkTh 43, 1919, 469–481, 657–692). — *Tangl, Michael*, Gregor-Register und Liber Diurnus (NADG 41, 1919, 741–752).

GENERAL. *Metzner* vindicates the Catholic conception of the primitive Christian organization. To this end he takes up Harnack's writings and endeavors to refute them. He has certainly done his work with industry and care, and in incidental particulars he may merit a hearing. As a whole, however, his book is only a new proof that dogma and history are in contradiction. — In connection with the statement of Epiphanius, Haer. 68, 7, that, unlike other cities, Alexandria never had two bishops, *Koch* calls attention to several well-authenticated instances of an episcopal duumvirate during the third century. — *Moe* is of the opinion that the Christians in the East were organized as *θιασοι* under a *προστάτης*, whereas in the West they chose a prominent member of the congregation to be their 'patron.' [Professor Ammundsen.]

COUNCILS. In 1909 the Strassburger Wissenschaftliche Gesellschaft resolved to undertake the publication of a critical edition of the acts of the oecumenical councils of Ephesus, Chalcedon, Constantinople 553, Constantinople 680–681, Nicaea 787, Constantinople 869, and Constantinople 879, and intrusted the task to Eduard Schwartz. Properly recognizing that more was involved than merely the acts in the narrow sense, that is the

transactions of the councils themselves, which are already easily accessible in the current collections, Schwartz directed his first efforts to those compilations which, like the *Synodicon Casinense* or the *Codex Encyclius*, afford glimpses of the antecedent proceedings of the synods and of the diplomatic negotiations that accompanied or followed them. The first volume to appear in this great enterprise contains a number of such documents which are important for the understanding of the history of the council of 553, relating in part to the Theopaschite controversy, in part to that of the Three Chapters, and in part to the actual proceedings of the council. The volume begins with the writings of Johannes Maxentius, once edited by Cochlaeus from a manuscript which later found its way to Oxford, and has been identified for the first time by Schwartz in Cod. Bodl. 580. These are followed by the sections concerning the Theopaschite controversy in the so-called *Collectio Novariensis*, that is, the documents preserved in Cod. Nov. 30 and published by Amelli in the first volume of the *Spicilegium Casinense*. The third group consists of the texts of the *Collectio Codicis Parisini* 1682, largely papal letters, together with the account of Innocentius of Maronea concerning the so-called *Collatio cum Severianis* (Mansi viii, 817-834), which Schwartz assigns, as the present writer had already done, but partly on the basis of fresh considerations, to the year 533 instead of 531. An appendix supplies the encyclical addressed by Proclus of Constantinople to the Armenians in the year 435 (Mansi v, 421-437) with the Latin translation of Dionysius Exiguus, besides a letter from Pope John II to certain senators (Mansi viii, 803-806). The prolegomena deal in the main with questions regarding the history of the tradition, touching upon material problems only where intelligibility requires. But once does the author allow himself to discuss such a subject on a more extensive scale: the much-debated history of the Scythian monks is reviewed in the masterly manner which Schwartz has accustomed us to associate with his work. Complementary to this publication are the studies in the history of the councils noticed above on p. 331 (Cassianus) and p. 337 (Proclus).

The war and its consequences have unhappily greatly lessened the hope of being able to carry through without change this largely planned undertaking, but Schwartz has not given it up. In the meantime he has presented us in the *Abhandlungen* of the Munich Academy with a valuable parergon. In a manuscript in the library of the Society of Christian Archaeology in Athens he found a rich collection of documents for the history of the Council of Ephesus in 431. Of the one hundred and seventy-seven pieces in this collection he now prints those that were unknown, or had hitherto been published only in Latin translations. Among them are letters from Cyril of Alexandria, John of Antioch, Popes Celestine and Sixtus III, Theodoret of Cyrus, and others. The transactions concerning the right of the Patriarch of Antioch to consecrate bishops on the island of Cyprus, which are of such great importance for the interpretation of the sixth canon of Nicaea are now accessible in their Greek text. To the reproduction of these documents Schwartz had added an investigation of the relations of this 'Collectio Atheniensis' to those which have been transmitted to us in the libraries of the West (*Collectio Segueriana* and *Collectio Vaticana*). In the concluding section, Schwartz turns his attention to the Latin translations which were made upon the basis of these Greek collections, particularly to that which is known under the misleading designation 'Synodicon Casinense.' He shows that the *Collectio Casinensis* is an amplification of the *Collectio Turonensis* preserved in Cod. Paris. 1572. The Roman deacon Rusticus, nephew of Pope Vigilius, is to be regarded as the author of this work. We possess from his hand a Latin redaction of the Acts of Chalcedon, which belongs together with the amplification of the *Collectio Turonensis* and its continuation in the so-called *Synodicon Casinense*. To the whole Schwartz gives the title 'Synodicon of Rusticus.' The next task which Schwartz has set himself is to publish the first two parts of this *Synodicon*. The manuscript is already complete, and the type-setting is said to have begun; but if it is to be completed, large support by early subscription is necessary. Schwartz justly writes: "I think I have sufficiently shown by this Memoir that the undertaking

is necessary; and that it will contribute to science an abundance of new material, or material made for the first time usable by new editions, sufficient to engage the labor of generations. I sincerely hope that, after all my toil, it may not be brought to a halt." This hope I would most urgently second.

The account of the last day's session of the Ephesian synod of 449, the 'Robber Synod,' has come down to us only in Syriac (Cod. Mus. Brit. Add. 14530 Syr. 905), and the edition of that text by S. G. F. Perry (Oxford 1875) has unfortunately remained practically unknown. Even acquaintance with the German translation by Georg Hoffmann (1873), the French by P. Martin (1874), and the English by Perry (1875), has been limited to the narrow circle of a very few investigators. It is to be hoped that the new edition now offered by *Flemming* will meet with a better fate. Facing the Syriac text *Flemming* prints the translation of Hoffmann, whose instructive notes are added, substantially unaltered, at the end of the volume. — On the subject of one or other of the individual councils there are a number of valuable contributions. In opposition to Duchesne, whose assignment of the council of Elvira to the period about 300 (that is, before the Diocletian persecution) has been accepted by many scholars, *Koch* advocates, on very respectable grounds, the period between 306 and 312, with a preference for the earliest possible date within these limits. — The Coptic sources on the Council of Nicaea, which Eugène Revillout published in the *Journal Asiatique*, 1873-75, have never been thoroughly investigated. A study of them has now been made by *Haase*, who comes to the conclusion that they are not official 'Acts,' but rather a gradually accumulated private corpus of documents of various origin. The creed, catalogue of bishops, and canons — the latter only partially preserved — are fairly good translations of Greek prototypes whose text was in parts better and more original than the Greek texts which have come down to us. The doctrinal sections cannot have been composed before Apollinaris of Laodicea and the earliest controversies on the doctrine of the Holy Ghost. The corpus comprises the *ἐκθεσις πίστεως* printed among the works of Athanasius, with the *σύνταγμα διδασκαλίας*

πρὸς μονάζοντας which is appended to it, besides a valuable collection of apophthegms. In addition to these studies, Haase supplies a German translation of all the texts. — Fräulein *Heckrodt* attempts to show that the canons of Sardica may without violence be fitted into the ecclesiastical movements of the fourth century, so that there should be no suspicion of forgery. The Greek text is the original. The authoress expounds this text with great diligence. She has brought together and worked over a vast amount of material which hitherto had to be laboriously sought in widely scattered sources. Even such much-discussed questions as that of the position of the Roman bishop in the third and fourth centuries she manages to treat with a certain degree of originality. — *Schwartz* offers a section of an unpublished work on the ecclesiastical policy of the Eastern Empire in the fifth and sixth centuries. He succeeds in shedding light, sometimes new and always interesting, on questions both of the history of doctrine and of church polity. This study can be read with pleasure as well as profit, for the author has a rare faculty for presenting valuable material in attractive form. One matter of detail may be mentioned. The opinion which as the result of Hort's researches (*Two Dissertations*, 1882) has become universal among scholars, that the Nicene-Constantinopolitan creed was not adopted at the synod of 381, but originated later, is rejected by Schwartz.

ROMAN CHURCH. Professor *Kirsch* of Freiburg, Switzerland, has undertaken a comprehensive study of the group of so-called title-churches (*Tituli*), which have an important bearing on the church life of Rome in antiquity. He aims to determine the character of these *Tituli*, to ascertain their origin and historical development, and to define the position they occupied in the ecclesiastical organization of the Roman church in early times. There were twenty-five such churches, of which all but two (*Titulus S. Cyriaci* and *Titulus S. Matthaei*) survive as cardinal churches to this day. Their origin is to be traced to the third century. Eighteen of them were already in existence before the great persecution. Most of the *Tituli* were originally private houses, with the name of the owner indicated by means

of an inscription over the entrance. In the middle of the fourth century these houses, which up to that time had not been much altered began to be replaced by basilicas. Only in the sixth century was the historical development of the Tituli completed. As may be imagined, our sources for a knowledge of their place in the ecclesiastical organization are scanty; but the author makes them yield valuable information nevertheless. — A welcome supplement to the researches of Kirsch is furnished by *Harnack*. The latter's principal concern, however, is with the origin of the Roman 'regions' and with the related subject of the diaconal and presbyterial organization of the Roman church in the third century. That Rome had a permanent central church and episcopal residence before the time of Constantine, he believes must be denied; though he thinks the bishop did maintain, in the vicinity of his church, an extensive chancellery with the requisite apartments.

Bruining breaks a lance for the Augustinianism of the Catholic Church. At the synod of Orange in 529 she accepted genuine Augustinianism, and held firmly to that position ever after, properly rejecting such extreme views as those of the monk Gottschalk and of the Jansenists. [Bakhuizen van den Brink.] — The much-discussed passage in Irenaeus, Adv. Haer. iii. 3, 1, has been subjected to renewed study by *Esser*, who comes to the conclusion that the principle 'what is Roman is catholic,' and indirectly also the theory of the infallibility of the Roman church, are already discoverable in Irenaeus. Against this daring conclusion there has appeared meanwhile a convincing article by *Koch*, ThStKr 94 (1921), 54-72; who admits, however, that Esser's translation of the celebrated passage is entirely correct linguistically. — *Koch* attacks the received view that the reference by Polycrates of Ephesus to the μεγάλα στοιχεῖα which remain in Asia, in his letter to Victor of Rome (Euseb. Hist. Eccl. v. 24, 2), was occasioned by Victor's appeal to Peter and Paul and the presence of their graves in Rome. In a second note, Koch maintains that the statement of Hippolytus (Philos. ix. 12, 4) concerning Calixtus can only be interpreted in the sense that Zephyrinus admitted Calixtus into the clergy and intrusted him with the management of the

κοιμητήριον. — Graf *Preysing* sees in the 'edicts' of Zephyrinus and Calixtus reported by Hippolytus (Ref. ix. 11, 12) two official utterances which indicate that even at that time the offices of the Roman see employed a distinctive court style.

In recent years the Jesuit scholar, *Peitz*, has attracted the attention of scholars by his attempts to overturn apparently well-established results in the field of documentary criticism. The importance of the positions he attacks makes watchfulness on the part of critics especially necessary, the more so that *Peitz* puts forward his assertions not only with much learning but also with great self-assurance, and that there is a tendency among his associates to hail him as a veritable reformer of the science of diplomatics and 'a star of the first magnitude in the historical heavens.' His first point of attack is furnished by the well-known researches of Paul Ewald in the NADG for 1879, which formed the basis of the edition of the letters of Gregory the Great in the *Monumenta Germaniae*. According to Ewald the foundation of our tradition is supplied by three manuscript collections, compiled at various times from the Lateran official register: 1. the Hadrianic register, that is, the collection of 686 (683) letters compiled at the behest of Pope Hadrian I; 2. the collection of 200 letters in the Cod. Colon. 92, saec. viii and other manuscripts; and 3. the so-called *Collectio Pauli* (probably *Diaconus*). These three series of selections formed the basis of his edition. *Peitz* now strives to maintain that the first named collection is a true and complete copy of the original register; from which it would follow that that collection alone should have been made the basis of Ewald's edition, and that the latter is therefore fundamentally defective. But this assumption of *Peitz* breaks down completely when confronted with the unequivocal testimony of the tradition, as has been convincingly shown by *Tangl*, one of our foremost authorities on diplomatics. Still bolder are *Peitz's* conclusions regarding the *Liber Diurnus*, or Papal chancery-book. In opposition to its editor, Sickel, who, while distinguishing between an older strand and later additions, places the compilation of the formularies not earlier than the eighth century, *Peitz* not only claims for all the formulae a pre-Gregorian origin, but would push

them back into early Christian times, even into the second century. What the predication of so early a date involves, may be seen from the fact that Peitz thinks he can recognize in the earlier stratum of the bishop's confession of faith, contained in *Liber Diurnus* No. 73, the original form of the Apostles' Creed. (See above, p. 341 f., on Haussleiter.) Peitz also believes he can demonstrate the authenticity of the papal documents for Lorch-Passau and for the archbishopric of Hamburg. We shall have occasion to return to this subject in our survey of the literature on the history of the church in the Middle Ages. It is to be expected that many other pens will be set in motion by the revolutionary theses of Peitz. Nor should his '*Beitrag zur Geschichte des Monotheletenstreits*' be overlooked, in which, while discussing the views of the present writer and other investigators, he seeks to settle more than one disputed point by a new method of approach.

Rauschen has brought together the most important passages bearing upon the earliest development of the idea of primacy in the episcopate. Those who possess Mirbt's '*Quellen*' will find nothing new in this publication. — *Silva-Tarouca*, whose articles are not yet concluded, deals first with the editions of Coustant, the brothers Ballerini, and Thiel, and then with the earliest collections of the decretals. He concludes that the decretals of the popes from Siricius to Coelestinus, which have come down to us in the collections of canons, go back to selective compilations which were pretty certainly complete about the middle of the fifth century. We must suppose them to have been copied from transcripts of the original decretals which were sent to the various ecclesiastical provinces by the addressees.

f. *Discipline*

Adam, Karl, Das sogenannte Bussedikt des Papstes Kallist. (VKSM 4, 5). 64 pp. München, Lentner, 1917. M. 1, 60. — *Boehmer, Heinrich*, Die Entstehung des Zoelibates. (Studien Hauck [vide supra p. 288], 6-24. — *Brander V.*, "Binden und Loesen" in der altsyrischen Kirche (Kath 95, 1, 1916, 220-232, 287-304). — *Companus, F. Ferr.*, O. F. M., De biecht in de eerste eeuwen der kerk. (Geloof en wetenschap 11, 5). 63 pp. Nijmegen, Malmberg, 1916. — *Esser, Gerhard*, Der Adressat der Schrift Tertullians "de pudicitia" und der Verfasser des römischen Bussedikts. 46 pp. Bonn,

Hanstein, 1914. M. 1; Die Behandlung der Haeresie in der Bussdisziplin der alten Kirche (ThGl 8, 1916, 472-483). — *Kemper, J. W.*, Biecht en boete in de drie eerste eeuwen, naar aanleiding van een nieuw boek [d' Alès, L' édit de Calliste, Par. 1914]. (Studien 46, 1914, 49-69). — *Koch, Hugo*, Kallist und Tertullian. (SAH 1919, 22). ii, 98 pp. Heidelberg, Winter, 1920. M. 5, 40. — *Preysing, Konrad Graf*, Existenz und Inhalt des Bussedikts Kallists (ZkTh 43, 1919, 358-362).

There are some problems to which scholars constantly recur. One such is that which relates to the growth of the system of penance in the first centuries, and in particular to the evaluation of Tertullian's writings 'De paenitentia' and 'De pudicitia,' as well as to the alleged edict (*edictum peremptorium*) which is the object of attack in the latter treatise. These questions have been the subject of renewed and lively discussion in the period covered by the present survey. Professor *Esser* of Bonn, who by reason of his life-long studies in Tertullian (see above, p. 312, under BKV) has won the right to a most respectful hearing, holds that the 'De pudicitia' was addressed, not to the bishop of Rome, but to the catholic church of Carthage or else to its bishop. The bishop of Rome was, it is true, the author of the 'edict,' but he was not responsible for the controversy at Carthage; he merely took a hand in it after his aid had been invoked by the bishop of that church. The bishop of Rome in question, moreover, was not Calixtus, as has been generally assumed on the basis of the familiar passage in the *Philosophumena* of Hippolytus, but his predecessor Zephyrinus. In support of this view Esser seeks to show (as does also Graf *Preysing*) that the statement of Hippolytus to the effect that Calixtus was the first to deal leniently with sins against chastity does not refer to a special decree on the subject of penance. Also he thinks the 'De pudicitia' must be dated much earlier than is usual, that is, in the year 213; in which case of course it could not refer to Calixtus. These conclusions of Esser have secured the assent of so highly esteemed a co-worker as F. Diekamp, ThRev. 13, 454-456. *Adam* goes further. He believes that even the 'edict' originated with the bishop of Carthage; so that the connection with Rome must be wholly eliminated. As regards the 'edict' itself, both Esser and Adam are of the opinion that the toleration there expressed

towards sins of the flesh was not an innovation, but merely a confirmation of the common practice of the church in opposition to the strict requirements of the Montanists.

All these assertions are controverted by *Koch* in an essay which exhibits at their best the merits of that excellent scholar's critical method. He recognizes, of course, as have all previous investigators, that the 'De pænitentia' contains expressions which seem to favor the idea that it was the custom of the church even then to rehabilitate the most serious offenders on performance of due penance. But he shows that those passages must be controlled by others which unmistakably prove the opposite. And he points in this connection to some little-noticed passages in the 'De baptismo' (c. 5) and the 'Apologeticum' (c. 39), from which it appears plain that certain sins were punished with permanent exclusion from the fellowship of worship and the sacraments. So that the procedure of the bishop who uttered the 'edict' was in fact an innovation. He goes on to re-establish the connection between the Hippolytus passage and the statements of Tertullian, which is disputed by Esser and Adam; disposes of the objection drawn from the chronology of the 'De pudicitia,' by showing that the latter must have been written before the 'De monogamia' and the 'De ieiunio adversus psychicos,' hence necessarily during the episcopate of Calixtus, and so brings back into honor the view that Calixtus was the author of the 'edict.' Moreover, the opponent addressed in the 'De pudicitia' can hardly be any other than the bishop of Rome, to whom alone the derisive designations 'pontifex maximus' and 'episcopus episcoporum' (the latter misinterpreted by Adam) could apply. To be sure, Tertullian extends his condemnation to every other bishop who follows the example of the bishop of Rome, as well as to all 'psychics' who are of the same mind, against which latter, as its title indicates, his treatise is directed. Koch devotes a final section to the confutation of the efforts to employ this writing of Tertullian (as Esser in particular attempts to do) in support of the thesis that the legal primacy of the Roman bishops was already recognized at that time. I may note in this connection that German scholars were already acquainted with the

book of D'Alès, *L'édit de Calliste*, Paris 1914. — By means of a judicious combination of old and new materials, *Boehmer* aims to determine the motive which led the ancient church to require of those who ministered at its altars, not indeed celibacy, but continence in the marriage relation. The *officium coniugale* does not comport with service at the altar. Accordingly, where the eucharist was celebrated daily, as was already the case in the West before 300, there was a strong tendency toward continued continence. It was otherwise in the East, where the celebration took place only several times a week, and hence temporary abstention on the day preceding the offering was deemed sufficient. The ancient church had as yet not the least idea of introducing the celibacy of the priesthood; that was reserved for the Middle Ages. — The works of *Companus* and *Kemper* contain, as I am informed by Bakhuizen van den Brink, nothing of scientific interest.

g. Asceticism and Monasticism

TEXTS.

Crum, W. E. Der Papyrus codex saec. VI-VII der Philippsbibliothek zu Cheltenham. Koptische theologische Schriften herausgegeben und übersetzt. Mit einem Beitrag von *Albert Ehrhard*. (Schr Ges Str 18). xviii, 171 pp. Mit zwei Tafeln in Lichtdruck. Strassburg, Trübner, 1915. M. 15. — *Hesseling, D. C.*, Bloemlesing uit het Pratum Spirituale van Johannes Moschus van inleiding en aantekeningen voorzien. (Aetatis imperatoriae scriptores graeci et romani adnotationibus instructi curantibus P. J. Enk en D. Plooi.) Utrecht, Ruys, 1916. fl. 2.

INVESTIGATIONS.

Albers, Bruno, Der Geist des hl. Benediktus. viii, 112 pp. Freiburg, Herder, 1917. M. 1, 20. — *Bickel, Ernst*, Das asketische Ideal bei Ambrosius, Hieronymus und Augustinus. 38 pp. Leipzig, Teubner, 1916. M. 1, 50. — *Bousset, Wilhelm*, Komposition und Charakter der Historia Lausiaca (NGW 1917, 173-217). — *Casel, Odo*, Zur Vision des heil. Benedikt (StMB 38, 1917, 345-348). — *Degenhart, Friedrich*, Der heilige Nilus Sinaita. Sein Leben und seine Lehre vom Mönchtum. (Beiträge zur Geschichte des alten Mönchtums und des Benediktinerordens 6.) xii, 188 pp. Münster i. W., Aschendorff, 1915. M. 5; geb. M. 6, 50; Neue Beiträge zur Nilusforschung. v, 50 pp. Ebd., 1918. M. 1, 50. — *Herwegen, Ildefons*, Der heilige Benedikt. 2. Aufl. xii, 170 pp. Düsseldorf, Schwann, 1917, M. 7. — *Heussi, Karl*, Untersuchungen zu Nilus dem Asketen. (TU 42, 2). iv, 172 pp. Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1917. M. 6, 50; Nilus der Asket und der Ueberfall der Moenche am Sinai (NJKIA 35, 1916, 107-221). — *Krüger, Gustav*, Asketika (ThR 20, 1917, 63-83). — *Müller, Engelbert*, Studien zu den

Biographien des Styliten Symeon des Jüngeren. (Diss. München.) 66 pp. Aschaffenburg, Werlrun, 1914. — *Reitzenstein, Richard*, Des Athanasius Werk über das Leben des Antonius. (SAH 1914, 8). 68 pp. Heidelberg, Winter, 1914. M. 2, 40; Historia monachorum und Historia Lausiaca. Eine Studie zur Geschichte des Mönchtums und der frühchristlichen Begriffe Gnostiker und Pneumatiker. (FRLANT, Neue Folge, 7). vi, 266 pp. Göttingen, Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1919. M. 10, 40. — *Salonius, A. H.*, Vitae Patrum. Kritische Untersuchungen über Text, Syntax und Wortschatz der spätlateinischen Vitae Patrum (Buch iii, v, vi, vii). (Skrifter utgivna av humanistiska vetenskapssamfundet; Lund. Acta Societatis humaniorum litterarum Lundensis. II). xi, 456 pp. Lund., C. W. K. Gleerup, 1920. M. 120.

TEXTS. The Philipps Library papyrus codex dating from the sixth or seventh century, now in the possession of Mr. T. Fitzroy Fenwick of Cheltenham, contains several interesting Coptic writings of a theological character which are best discussed at this point, since they originated in the circles of Pachomian monachism. They have been edited by *Crum* with his usual care, and he has also supplied a German translation. To *Ehrhard* we are indebted for an excellent historico-critical introduction to the texts. In the main they group themselves about four persons, three of whom, the archbishops Theophilus and Cyril of Alexandria, and Horsiesius, third abbot-general of the Pachomian monasteries in the southern Thebais, are well known from the ecclesiastical and monastical history of Egypt, while the fourth, Bishop Agathonicus of Tarsus, appears here for the first time. The popular character of these texts makes them especially valuable; they afford a more direct and vivid insight into the religious life of the Pachomian monks than can be had from the learned theological literature. They fall into three parts: 1. the account of a journey of Horsiesius to Alexandria, an interesting episode from the life of this second successor of Pachomius, concerning whom our information is otherwise quite meagre; 2. the 'Questions and Answers,' in which Cyril of Alexandria plays the chief rôle, and which, according to Ehrhard, do not belong to the class of *ἐρωταποκρίσεις*, but grew out of an actual colloquy between the patriarch and his two deacons, Anthimus and Stephanus; and 3. a group of pseudepigrapha, put into the mouth of an otherwise unknown Bishop Agathonicus of Tarsus by a Pachomian monk, who

made use of a pseudonym for the discussion of several disputed points of doctrine. Crum leaves the question open whether the texts were originally composed in Coptic or are translations from the Greek, while Ehrhard confidently decides in favor of the first alternative. — Professor *Hesseling* is known as one of the foremost investigators in the field of the Koine. The edition of extracts from the 'Pratum Spirituale' of Johannes Moschus which he has prepared for students of philology and theology, with its summary of the history of the Koine and brief grammatical notes, fully sustains his reputation. The introduction deals with the life of Johannes, and emphasizes the value of his book for a knowledge of the state of religion at the end of the sixth century. [Bakhuizen van den Brink.]

STUDIES. In his 'Hellenistische Wundererzählungen,' published in 1906, *Reitzenstein* had already attacked the literary problem of the oldest monastical histories. In 1912 appeared Holl's important study, 'Die schriftstellerische Form der Heiligenlegende' (NJkLA 29, 1912, 406-427). In that study Holl showed that the *Vita Antonii* of Athanasius was the prototype of the Greek lives of the saints, and found the characteristic difference between the Christian narratives and classical biography to consist in the fact that in the former the biographical element serves only as a means for the representation of the ideal. At the same time he pointed out that the model for the *Vita Antonii* must have been furnished by a lost *βίος Πυθαγόρου*. *Reitzenstein* has extended these observations. Upon further study, the astonishing fact was disclosed that not only were parts of the narrative in the *Vita* extracted quite mechanically and unintelligently from a life of Pythagoras, but even its ideal of the Christian ascetic was formed under the immediate influence of the Neopythagorean ideal of human perfection. The very conception of asceticism reflects that ideal, since asceticism aims not at the destruction of the body, but merely at its subjection to the spirit, and the restoration of man to his original state, his true nature. Thus Athanasius transferred to Christianity the philosophical ideal of the perfect wise man, standing above all earthly things. In so doing, *Reitzenstein* supposes he sought to portray an ideal that should contrast

with another conception of the value and dignity of the ascetic life already widely prevalent in the monastic life of his time (about the middle of the fourth century), namely, the conception of the monk as a Pneumatic or Gnostic, a superhuman being. The question then arises, how nearly we can get at this other conception. A thorough examination of certain technical terms, particularly of the word *μονάζειν*, showed that while monasticism as an historical institution was influenced by Neopythagoreanism, its fundamental ideas must have been formed in the main under the influence of Gnosticism. To confirm these observations, however, it seemed necessary to make a comprehensive study of the older monastical narratives, especially the *Historia Monachorum* and the *Historia Lausiaca*; to inquire into their literary character, determine the historical value of their statements, and to set forth the ideas and conceptions of their authors. But even then the circle of the sources to be investigated would have been too narrowly drawn. The monastical writers on ethics — an Evagrius Ponticus and a Diodochus of Photice — had also to be examined, with the correct recognition of the fact that for the proper evaluation of the monastical novel the ascetic-gnostic didactic writings must necessarily be taken into consideration. In this way a new book has been produced, concerning which one cannot help regretting that its readableness is in inverse proportion to its importance. Reitzenstein is fond of studying *coram publico*. He conducts his readers all along the path he himself has travelled, with all the detours which were unavoidable for him, to be sure, but which they might well have been spared.

The course of Reitzenstein's investigation may be summarized as follows: Unlike Lucius in his well-known book, 'Die Anfänge des Heiligenkultes,' he thinks of the 'legend' only as a literary product (chap. 1-4). Not the person, but the purpose, determines the plan of the narrative. The two great collections, the 'Historia Monachorum' and the 'Historia Lausiaca,' derive their value, not from the description of events, nor yet from their representation of the attendant circumstances, the milieu, but from the views of the authors which there find expression — the views of Rufinus (Reitzenstein

holds, with Preuschen, that the Latin form of the *Historia Monachorum* is the original) and of an unknown author (after the name of Palladius as author of the *Historia Lausiaca*, Reitzenstein puts a question mark); or, to be more exact, the views of those circles in which the narratives committed to writing by these authors arose as a kind of popular literature in the form of separate stories. Next (chap. 5) he examines the idea of the ascetic as superman, with regard to its origins and various ramifications. He shows the connection between the stories of monks and those of martyrs, and takes occasion to investigate anew the origin and significance of the title of 'martyr' (see above p. 300 f.), as well as the position and law of the Christian Pneumatics. The language of asceticism in the Stoics, Neopythagoreans, Philo, and Porphyry (with especial emphasis on the often neglected writing 'Ad Marcellam') is inquired into, and the 'decisive fact that most of the terminology of monasticism is borrowed from heathen philosophy' is placed in its proper light. In this way he shows that the influence of Pythagoreanism upon nascent monasticism was supplemented by that of the Hellenistic mysteries and of early Christian Gnosticism. The sixth chapter is devoted to Evagrius and Diadochus. Here especial attention is paid, on the one hand, to the examination of the conception of Gnosis in its double aspect as the higher and the lower Gnosis, and on the other, to the gradual rejection of the ascetics' claim to belong to a supramundane order of beings. The seventh and eighth chapters are occupied with the *Historia Lausiaca* (analysis of sources, question of revision); the ninth with the opposition between the episcopacy and the ascetic class (Massaliani, Encratites). His closing chapter the author devotes to a fresh and exhaustive discussion of the original significance of the early Christian terms 'Gnostic' and 'Pneumatic,' which, as our review has shown, are of prime importance for the whole investigation. The extremely polemical tone of this discussion will be regretted. In opposition to Harnack, Reitzenstein defends the definition of Gnosis which has been reached by recent researches of philologists and students of the history of religion. For further information on this subject the reader is referred

to the present writer's (*Krüger*) above-mentioned notice in the *ThR*, or better still to the publications of Reitzenstein and Harnack on the formula 'Glaube, Liebe, Hoffnung'; the latter belong in the department of the New Testament and early Christianity, and hence cannot be reviewed in this place.

Reitzenstein, who teaches at Göttingen, dedicated his book to Wilhelm Bousset on the occasion of the latter's departure from Göttingen to take a chair at Giessen. *Bousset* himself had given a good deal of attention to the older monastic literature. His essay on the composition and character of the *Historia Lausiaca* starts with the observations of Reitzenstein, in particular with the fact, so significant for the literary criticism of the *Historia*, that the terms *γνώσις*, *γνωστικός*, *πνευματικός* are found exclusively in certain sections of the work, that is to say, in the second half and in the first four chapters of the first half. This signifies that those expressions are to be found only where there is reason to believe that we are dealing with the compiler of the *Historia Lausiaca* himself, and not with one of his written sources. Bousset strives to identify those earlier sources. He thinks he can recognize as such: 1. a collection of stories about the monks of the desert of Scete; 2. matter from the traditions concerning Pachomius; 3. a catalogue of Syrian saints, with brief characterizations; and 4. (perhaps) a collection of 'lives' of holy women. I venture to add, in this connection, that among the papers left by Professor Bousset there is a manuscript work, completely ready for the printer, on the history of the *Apophthegmata Patrum*.⁵ Its publication would be a real gain for science, but no publisher could undertake it without very considerable contributions towards meeting the cost of printing. As Germany alone is unable to supply the necessary funds at the present time, it is perhaps permissible to draw the attention of non-German scholars to this unquestionable 'good work.' — In his sketch *Bickel* tries to show how the three currents of evangelical, monastic-gnostic, and philosophical asceticism are united in the ascetic ideal of the

⁵ In the "Festgabe" commemorating Harnack's seventieth birthday (Tübingen, Mohr, 1921) Bousset gives a brief summary (pp. 102-106) of the results of this extensive work.

three great theologians of the western church. To retrace the sources of this ideal he goes back, beyond the Alexandrians Clement and Origen, to Posidonius and the Socratic philosophy. At the same time he attempts to do justice to the literary individuality of each of the three theologians. For so short a treatise this is quite too large a task. But the skilful author manages to awaken lively interest in his subject nevertheless.

In his painstaking monograph on Nilus Sinaita, *Degenhart* did not attempt any critical treatment of the literary tradition, in which the true and the false are palpably intermingled. *Heussi* has undertaken to make good that omission. Unless he is mistaken, the fascinating story of the attack on the monks of Sinai, upon which the traditional life-story of Nilus has been built up, cannot hereafter be employed as an historical source, though it does not thereby lose its value as a picture of contemporary life. For our knowledge of Nilus we must therefore depend upon his own writings, especially on the collection of his letters. The investigation of that collection forms the kernel of *Heussi's* work. As in the case of Isidore of Pelusium, the collection consists of real letters, not rhetorical exercises in style or mere excerpts from the Church Fathers. Because of their impersonal character, which will surprise no one who is familiar with the literature of asceticism, the letters throw very little light on the conditions under which the author lived. But references to Sinai are entirely lacking, and *Heussi* believes the author must be sought rather in northwestern Asia Minor. The circle of his readers embraced the whole of Byzantine society from emperor to slave — monks, clergy, and laymen. In his second study, *Degenhart* seeks to maintain the historicity of the Sinai story with old and new arguments. We may expect a rejoinder from *Heussi*.⁶

Simeon the younger, the celebrated Stylite (521–596), had three biographers: Arcadius, archbishop of Constantia in Cyprus (died after 626), Johannes Petrinus (tenth century), and Nicephorus, surnamed *ὁ Οὐρανός* (about 1000). *Müller* furnishes first a critical text of the *Vita* by Petrinus from the

⁶ This has just been published. See Karl Heussi, *Das Nilusproblem*. 32 pp. Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1921. M. 6. Heussi, as might be expected, declares himself unconvinced.

Munich manuscript, which had previously been only partially edited, and then proceeds to examine the mutual relation of the several biographies. He reaches the conclusion that the earliest biography by Arcadius has not been preserved, but that all three extant ones were derived from it. — Among the works relating to Saint Benedict, that of *Herwegen*, abbot of Maria Laach, deserves especial notice as a delicate and carefully drawn character-sketch, which, with all due reverence for tradition, is not devoid of critical method. With Benedict, however, we have reached the threshold of the Middle Ages, and so our survey must be suspended at this point, to be resumed in another place.

In the paucity of works on the history of late Latin, the thorough investigation which *Salonius* has devoted to the so-called *Vitae Patrum* (reprinted in Migne, Vols. 73 and 74, after Rosweyd) must be characterized as very useful. Of the ten books of the *Vitae*, Salonius has selected Books 3, 5, 6, and 7, because they stand in closer relation to one another both in content and in language. Salonius proves at large that Book 3 passes erroneously under the name of Rufinus of Aquileia, while there is no reason to doubt that the author of Book 5 was the Roman deacon and later Pope Pelagius I (555–560); of Book 6, the subdeacon John, later Pope John III (560–563); and of Book 7, the Spanish monk, Paschasius, about the middle of the sixth century. The *Lives* are in all cases translations from the Greek, and the discovery of the Greek originals would be of great importance for the reconstruction of the Latin text. As the matter now stands, it can often not be decided whether an error is to be attributed to the editors, the copyists, or the translator. In this respect Salonius is very cautious. The especial attention of students of the language may be called to the rich material which he offers them.

NOTES

A CONJECTURE ON MATTHEW XI, 12

The very multiplicity of the attempts which have been made to solve the exegetical problem presented by the difficult Logion of St. Matthew 11, 12 is in itself a strong indication that no one of the proffered interpretations can claim for itself a pre-eminent position; and inasmuch as all the thought that has been expended upon the Saying has not succeeded in discovering in it a meaning that by its inherent probability compels us to accept it as the true interpretation, it is inevitable that we should wonder whether some error can have crept into the text.

The manuscripts and versions, it is true, are singularly unanimous in their support of the traditional text; nevertheless I venture to submit a conjecture which has, as I think, the merit of giving to the Logion a much more intelligible meaning than any that has hitherto been proposed.

The evidence of the papyri and kindred sources agrees with the testimony of the literary sources in showing that it is permissible to take *βιάζεται* either as middle or as passive. Whichever voice is adopted the clause in which the word occurs plainly speaks of violent opposition between the Kingdom and some opposing force, and the second clause, *καὶ βασταὶ ἀρπάζουσιν αὐτήν*, taken in conjunction with the preceding words, can scarcely bear any other meaning than that the Kingdom is being worsted in the conflict. Herein lies the real difficulty of the Logion, and most of the current interpretations are attempts to expound the words without looking this obvious difficulty in the face. We cannot of course think that Jesus would speak of the Kingdom of Heaven as being worsted in any encounter, and the purpose of this Note is to suggest that the kingdom spoken of in the Logion as being hard pressed is not the Kingdom of Heaven at all.

The Gospel records leave us in no doubt that our Lord shared the conception current among His contemporaries that over against the Kingdom of God, in constant and violent opposition to it, stood a Kingdom of Evil. In the Beelzeboul discourse he speaks of it as the Kingdom of Satan: *καὶ εἰ ὁ Σατανᾶς τὸν Σατανᾶν ἐκβάλλει, ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν ἐμερίσθη· πῶς οὖν σταθήσεται ἡ βασιλεία αὐτοῦ;* (Matt. 12, 26).

Now is it possible that in the Logion which we are discussing Jesus is speaking of the Kingdom of Satan? If we could substitute τοῦ

Σατανᾶ for τῶν οὐρανῶν all the obscurity would at once disappear; we could then take βιάξεται as passive and find in the Logion the statement that ever since the days of John's ministry the Kingdom of Satan was being hard pressed, and that those who were storming it were getting the upper hand. But why and how did τῶν οὐρανῶν replace τοῦ Σατανᾶ? Is it possible to suggest any reasonable explanation of the substitution of the one for the other? It seems hopeless to discover any reason why in the Greek the words τῶν οὐρανῶν should have supplanted a more original τοῦ Σατανᾶ. But could the substitution have been effected before the words of our Lord had been translated into Greek — while they were still being reported and written in their original Aramaic? In Aramaic the Kingdom of Heaven would be מַלְכוּתָא דְּשַׁמַּיָא, while the expression corresponding to the Kingdom of Satan would be מַלְכוּתָא דְּשַׁטָּנָא; and the two expressions are sufficiently alike graphically to make confusion easily possible.

That the initial letter of the Hebrew word for kingdom is *shin* while that of the word for Satan is *sin* is no proof that in Aramaic the former would be spelt with ש and the latter invariably with ס. It is true that the Hebrew ש is more usually represented in Aramaic by ס, but in every period of Aramaic the interchange of ש and ס is common. In the particular case of the word Satan the Targums and Talmudic literature show both forms שַׁטָּנָא and סַטָּנָא in common use. The latter is rather more frequently used, but the former is quite usual.¹

It will be noticed that in modern Square Hebrew the letters which are *not* identical in the two words which, as we suggest, were confused (namely the letters ט and ס) are not very dissimilar; but the possibility has to be borne in mind that they may not have been so much alike, and that consequently confusion would be less probable, in the script employed when our Lord's sayings were first written in Aramaic. Our knowledge, however, of the precise form in which the Logia were current in his day and later is so meagre that it is not safe to be dogmatic. It is highly probable that the old Square Hebrew (see Column v, page 71 of Hastings's Dictionary of the Bible, Vol. I) was in use in the lifetime of Jesus,² and in that script it was by no means impossible for the error suggested in this Note to have arisen.

As to the Aramaic underlying the words βιάξεται and βιασται, it would not be difficult to suggest expressions which would be in har-

¹ For some of these facts I am indebted to my friend and colleague, Professor S. H. Hooke.

² See Hastings's Dictionary of the Bible, Vol. I, p. 74a (Taylor), and Vol. IV, p. 949a (Kenyon).

mony with what we conceive to have been the original meaning of the Logion. For example, Dalman's rendering of the two words, which makes **לגיון** its starting-point, would suit our emendation of the text quite as well as it suits Dalman's own interpretation.³

When we remind ourselves of the frequency with which the phrase 'the Kingdom of Heaven' occurred in the reports of the Master's discourses, we realize how easy it would be for some early scribe to mistake a chance occurrence of words in some measure similar for just another instance of the great phrase that so frequently recurred.

It is significant, as affording some corroboration of our hypothesis, that in Matt. 12, 29 Jesus uses the verb ἀρπάζω of plundering the goods of the Strong Man — the very verb employed in our Logion, as we interpret it, to describe the successful onset of the new forces of righteousness upon the Kingdom of Satan.

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THE TEXT OF LUKE II, 22

This verse contains a textual problem which has perplexed editors of the New Testament since the days of Erasmus and the Complutensian edition. The question is, What pronoun should be read after καθαρισμοῦ? — αὐτῶν, or αὐτοῦ, or αὐτῆς?

Αὐτῶν is attested by **ΣΑΒΛΩΓΔΠ** etc., by nearly all the minuscules, by the Peshitta, the Harclean, and the Palestinian Syriac, and by three minor ancient versions (Ethiopic, Armenian, and Gothic). The Arabic Diatessaron also has the plural pronoun, agreeing with the Peshitta at this point. Origen found αὐτῶν in his text of the Gospel, and, so far as is known, he was acquainted with no other reading in this place. He quotes Luke 2, 22 in his Fourteenth Homily on Luke, which deals with the Circumcision and Purification, and he discusses the difficulty involved in the plural αὐτῶν without mentioning any variant reading. If he had known of such, he would certainly have made some reference to it. The Homiliae in Lucam were written at Caesarea, after Origen's withdrawal to that city from Alexandria in the year 231. We may therefore assume that αὐτῶν formed part of Luke 2, 22 in the text current at Caesarea and Alexandria in the early

³ *The Words of Jesus* (English Translation), pp. 141, 142.

part of the third century, and that there were no rival claimants for the place. It was also the Antiochian, or 'Syrian,' reading, as its predominance in the minuscule manuscripts proves.

Αὔρων is sometimes explained as referring to the Jews.¹* But this is contextually objectionable, because the subject understood of *ἀνήγαγον* is the parents of Jesus. Moreover, this interpretation becomes much more difficult, not to say impossible, if one believes, as the present writer does, that the first two chapters of Luke (except the preface) are based on a Semitic original. Some think the plural pronoun is used of Mary and Jesus;² whilst others, with much better reason in view of the context, refer *αὐτῶν* to Joseph and Mary.³ But both of these explanations are fraught with the difficulty that the Mosaic Law prescribed purification only for the mother after childbirth. No ceremonial impurity attached to the father or to the child.

The feminine pronoun *αὐτῆς* is found in no Greek manuscript of the New Testament.⁴ Its attestation is not only of inferior quality; it is also extremely scanty, being limited to a citation in a work wrongly ascribed to Athanasius,⁵ to a catena on the Gospel,⁶ and to Erpenius's edition of the Arabic published in 1616.⁷ *Αὐτῆς* is obviously a learned correction either of the reading *αὐτῶν* or of the variant *αὐτοῦ*, which is discussed below. It was made by some one who knew that the woman only according to the Jewish Law needed purification after the birth of a child.

On the other hand Codex Bezae and at least eight minuscules have *αὐτοῦ* after *καθαρισμοῦ*.⁸ The Sahidic version and the Amsterdam edition of the Armenian also have 'his cleansing' here.⁹ *Eius* of the Old Latin¹⁰ and the Vulgate, as well as the pronominal suffix in the Sinaitic Syriac,¹¹ are ambiguous; they may be interpreted either as masculine or as feminine. But inasmuch as *αὐτοῦ* is an early 'Western' reading, being found in Codex Bezae and the Sahidic version, whereas *αὐτῆς* is very slightly attested and is doubtless only a learned correction of *αὐτῶν* or *αὐτοῦ*, it seems altogether probable that *αὐτοῦ* rather than *αὐτῆς* underlies the Old Latin and the Sinaitic Syriac. For the Old Latin and Old Syriac versions were made from manuscripts of the 'Western' type. Moreover, there is no evidence that the reading *αὐτῆς* was in existence when either of these versions was made. It is quite possible, however, that many readers of the Old Latin and Sinaitic Syriac understood the mother of Christ to be meant. *Αὐτοῦ* can only refer to Jesus, whose circumcision and naming are recounted in verse 21. But from the point of view of the Mosaic

* See notes at the end of the article.

Law it is erroneous to speak of the purification of the child. Nevertheless, Griesbach regarded αἰτοῦ as a *speciosa lectio*, and Zahn thinks that it may be the right reading in Luke 2, 22.¹²

A few authorities have no pronoun at all after καθαρισμοῦ.¹³ The omission undoubtedly arose from a feeling that the Evangelist could not have written either αὐτῶν or αἰτοῦ in this place. This reading, however, has no more claim to be regarded as correct than the feminine pronoun αὐτῆς.

The Complutensian editors,¹⁴ followed by Beza and the Elzevir editions, adopted αὐτῆς;¹⁵ but Erasmus and Stephanus printed αὐτῶν in their New Testaments.¹⁶ The Antwerp and Paris Polyglots adhere to the Elzevir tradition, whereas the London Polyglot reproduces the text of Stephanus. Αὐτῶν is read by Griesbach, Lachmann, Tischendorf, Tregelles, Westcott and Hort, Baljon, and von Soden. No editor has ever adopted αἰτοῦ, and none since Alter has printed αὐτῆς.

The present writer believes that the first two chapters of Luke (except the preface) are based on a Semitic source. The Greek variants in Luke 2, 22 can be readily explained if one assumes, with Bousset, Gressmann, Plummer, and Moffatt, that the underlying document was written in Aramaic; and this assumption seems reasonable at least so far as the narrative parts of the chapters are concerned.¹⁷

The source in Luke 2, 22, like the Targum of Onkelos on Lev. 12, 4 and 6, probably had ימי רכותה. The suffix in רכותה was intended to be read as feminine, meaning 'her purification.' Luke, or whoever translated the source into Greek, having read in the preceding verse about the circumcision and naming of Jesus, took it as masculine, 'his purification,' and translated it by καθαρισμοῦ αἰτοῦ. This was the original text of Luke 2, 22. But before the time of Origen it was perceived that αἰτοῦ could not be right, and it was changed to αὐτῶν, which was suggested by the verb ἀνέγαγον and seemed to improve the sense. In course of time αὐτῶν became the dominant reading, though αἰτοῦ survived in texts which preserved the 'Western' tradition. But neither αἰτοῦ nor αὐτῶν was universally satisfactory, since the Mosaic Law demanded purification of the woman after childbirth and of her only. Accordingly αὐτῆς appeared as a learned correction, but its range was extremely limited until the appearance of the Complutensian edition in 1522. The adoption of αὐτῆς into the text of several early printed editions of the New Testament is due in part to the Vulgate *eius*, which was understood as a feminine pronoun.

NOTES

1. So Mill (*Novum Testamentum*, ed. Kuster, Prol. §§ 676 and 1438); van Hengel (*Annotationes*, p. 199); Edersheim (*Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*, 8th ed., i, p. 195, n. 1).

2. So Origen; de Wette; Winer (*Grammar*, tr. Thayer, p. 147); Hahn.

3. So Meyer, Godet, Alford, Bernhard Weiss, Schanz, Plummer, E. Kloss-terminn.

4. Codex 76, a Vienna manuscript of the twelfth or thirteenth century, is commonly cited as a witness for *αὐτῆς*. This, however, is an error; for Gregory, who examined the codex in 1887, reports that it reads *αὐτῶν* in Luke 2, 22 (cf. Tischendorf, *Novum Testamentum Graece*, III, 484). Codex 76 is one of the manuscripts consulted by Alter. He printed *αὐτῆς* in Luke 2, 22 without recording the reading of this codex. Griesbach inferred from Alter's silence that *αὐτῆς* was found in 76, and in order to indicate that the citation was based on inference he enclosed the number 76 in parentheses. It has been pointed out above that this manuscript really has *αὐτῶν*; and Alter failed to indicate this fact through carelessness. His edition is substantially a reprint of 218, a thirteenth century codex in the Imperial Library in Vienna. Professor Karl Beth, of Vienna, has kindly informed me that it reads *αὐτῶν* in Luke 2, 22. Alter, a Roman Catholic scholar, no doubt adopted *αὐτῆς* from the Complutensian-Elzevir tradition, or possibly from the Vulgate *eius*. Scholz, with characteristic inaccuracy, omitted Griesbach's parentheses about 76, and thenceforth *αὐτῆς* passed into the critical tradition as the true reading of the manuscript.

5. Athanasius (Benedictine ed., Paris, 1698), ii, 418 f.

6. Cf. Cramer, *Catenae*, ii, p. 22. Augustine's *De Consensu Evangelistarum*, ii, 17 is cited by Tischendorf as an authority for *eius*. The passage runs thus: *dies purgationis matris eius* (Benedictine ed., Paris, 1679-1701, iii, col. 38).

7. The Roman edition of the Arabic has no pronoun at this point.

8. Codd. 21, 47, 56, 61, 118, 209, 220, 254.

9. Two Sahidic manuscripts, however, read 'their,' in agreement with *Ⲛⲁⲃ* etc. The Amsterdam edition of the Armenian version (1666) is in some places conformed to the Latin Vulgate (cf. Conybeare in *Hastings's Dictionary of the Bible*, i, 154). Accordingly 'his cleansing' in Luke 2, 22 may be due to *purgationis eius* of the Vulgate. Zohrab's critical edition of the New Testament (1789) has 'their cleansing.'

10. The only Latin authorities known to read *eorum* are q and δ.

11. The Curetonian Syriac is defective at this point.

12. Cf. Zahn, *Kommentar*, p. 151, note.

13. Cod. 435, Scrivener's x and y, Amphilochius (Migne *P. G.* XXXIX, 48), the Latin translation of Irenaeus (Migne *P. G.* VII, 877 f.), the Bohairic version (though six manuscripts have 'their'), and the Roman edition of the Arabic.

14. What manuscripts the Complutensian editors used in preparing their edition of the New Testament is not known. It is, however, altogether improbable that they had any Greek authority for *αὐτῆς* in Luke 2, 22. They doubtless introduced the word into their text on the strength of the Vulgate *eius* (understood as a feminine pronoun), just as they adopted 1 John 5, 7

and 8 from the current Latin version. In support of *αὐτῆς* Mill cites the *Lectiones Velestianae*. On these readings, which were really not Greek but Latin, see Wettstein, *Novum Testamentum*, I, pp. 59 ff.

15. 'Her purification' of the A. V. represents this tradition. The R. V. on the other hand reads 'their purification' in accordance with the great uncial manuscripts. Luther wrote 'ihrer Reinigung,' which is ambiguous; but Gerbelius's edition of the New Testament (1521, an Erasmian text), which Luther is said to have used, has *αὐτῶν*. A similar ambiguity is found in the West Saxon and Northumbrian versions.

16. According to Mill, Erasmus was acquainted with one manuscript that read *αὐτοῦ*.

17. The hymns on the other hand are Hebraic in character, and may have been composed in Hebrew. Cf. Torrey, in *Studies in the History of Religions*, presented to C. H. Toy, pp. 293 f. Professor Torrey thinks that the prose setting as well as the hymns themselves were written in Hebrew, and in support of this view he cites the awkward phrase *εἰς πόλιν Ἰούδα* in Luke 1, 39. This he regards as an attempt to translate the Hebrew *אֶל מְדִינַת יְהוּדָה* into Greek. "For the Aramaic *לְיְהוּדָה מְדִינָתָא* would hardly have been rendered by *εἰς πόλιν Ἰούδα*. The word *יהוּדָה* could not well have been misunderstood; moreover, it does not look like the name of a town, nor would it have been transliterated by *Iouδα*" (*op. cit.*, p. 292). *יהוּדָה* is found in the Aramaic sections of Ezra and Daniel, but *יהוּדָה* occurs a number of times in the Targum on the Prophets as the name of the Southern Kingdom. *εἰς πόλιν Ἰούδα* may therefore represent the Aramaic *לְמְדִינַת יְהוּדָה* or *לְמְדִינָתָא דִּי יְהוּדָה*. Similarly, Torrey thinks that *προβεβηκότες ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις αὐτῶν* in Luke 1, 7 is a translation of *בְּאַיִם בְּיָמֵיהֶם*. But the original may quite as well have been *עַלֵּילִין בְּיוֹמֵיהֶן הוּן*. On *a priori* grounds it is more likely that a prose writing which circulated among the Jewish Christians of Palestine should be written in the vernacular Aramaic than in the sacred Hebrew, which was to most of them a *lingua ignota*. Certainly the first part of Acts is based on Aramaic, not Hebrew, sources. Cf. Torrey, *The Date and Composition of Acts*, *passim*.

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